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Luard, C.E.

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No. II.

A.

THE BHILALAS.

Introduction.—The Bhilālas are closely related to the Bhils, Patlias, and other tribes which inhabit the Vindhya and Sātpurās. They claim, however, Rājput descent and are considered to be of higher status than their neighbours. The Bhūmia or allodial proprietors of this hilly tract are all Bhilālas, such as the Bhūmias of Kālī-Baori, Kothide, etc.

In 1901 the number of Bhilālas returned was 131,280 distributed thus :—¹

1. Bhopāwar Agency	...	126,552
2. Indore Residency	...	5,924
3. Gwalior Residency	...	2,309
4. Bhopāl Agency	...	1,472
5. Indore Agency	...	472
6. Bundelkhand Agency	...	99
7. Mālwa Agency	...	84

TOTAL ... 131,280

Of the States in the Bhopāwar Agency :

1. Barwāni State	...	29,066
2. Jhābua State	...	24,022
3. Indore Parganas	...	23,294
4. Ali-Rājpur State	...	14,456
5. Gwalior	...	14,353
6. Dhār State	...	10,840
7. Petty States, etc.	...	10,521

TOTAL ... 126,552

Owing to the stake they hold in the country as land-owners they are not addicted to wandering in the same way as the Bhils.

Name of tribe.—This is always derived from *Bhilāra* (or *āla*) i. e., those accused of being Bhils from *ara* (अड़ा), a fault.

This name is never used by members of the tribe, the appellation being considered derogatory. They always style themselves Thākur, Bhūmia, Rāwat, Patel, Mukhi, etc.

Origin of tribe.—The traditions of the tribe state that their Rājput ancestors lived at Delhi, and were Chauhāns, members of the family of Prithvirāj, the last Hindu King of Delhi. When the Chauhāns were finally driven out by the Muhammadans ² 200,000 of them migrated to Mewār and settled at Chitor in Udaipur State. On the capture of Chitor by Ala-ud-dīn in 1303 a large number fled to the Vindhya hills for refuge. Here they formed marriage connections with Bhil women and so lost caste.

1. Owing to the reconstruction of Political Agencies since 1901 these figures are no longer applicable.

2. By Muiz-ud-din in 1192 A. D.

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Their superior status is always admitted and they form the local aristocracy of the Vindhya, the Rājā of Māndhātā, as he is called, being the head of the clan. Malcolm says that in his day the Bhilālas and Sondhīas were the only robbers in Mālwa whom no traveller could trust, as no oath, however sacred, restrained them.¹ He concludes with the remark that they combine "with the pride and pretensions of Rājputs the cunning and roguery of the Bhils," while they are destitute of any of those feelings of chivalry which occasionally redeem the vices of true Rājputs.

In the beginning of the 19th century some members of the clan rose to importance during the confusion which the Pindāri depredations caused in Central India. Nādir Singh, a Bhilāla of Jāmnia village near Māndu, assisted Jaswant Rao Holkar in his campaign to recover the family estates. Nādir Singh Bhilāla's name soon became a terror in Southern Mālwa. By 1818 he had collected a body of 200 horse and 700 foot, and his power was such that Hāte Singh, a Khīchi Rājput, Thākur of Naulana, actually consented to dine with the Bhilāla chieftain, in order to save his estate from ravage. When Sir John Malcolm asked Hāte Singh about this, he replied that his having dined with Nādir Singh did not degrade him, but raised the Bhilāla !

There are now ten estates held by Bhilālas under the British guarantee and others held without a guarantee, from the Dhār and other Darbārs. The guaranteed estates are : Barkhera (Bara and Chhota), Bhārūdpura, Chiktiabar, Garhī, Jāmnia, Kali-Baori, Kothide and Nimkhera, all in the Bhopāwar Agency.

Subdivisions.—The tribe is divided into two main sections but no marriage distinctions are made, the *Badi* and *Chhoti Jāt* only differing as regards eating and drinking, the septs in the *Badi Jāt* never eating fowls or drinking liquor. In marriage relations they are on the same footing as the septs in the *Chhoti Jāt*. As regards septs the usual difficulty has been experienced in obtaining a list. No two persons ever give the same name or the same number to the septs. Lists are given in an Appendix.

From these lists it will be seen that practically no septs are now traceable to totemistic origin, though possibly there were totemistic reasons for many names ; others are Rājput names ; and many local.

Marriage.

Groups.—The ordinary prohibitions hold good. The Bhilālas form one big endogamous group divided into 42 septs which are exogamous. No two members of the same sept can marry. No man can marry into his mother's sept or his grandmother's sept for three generations, the same limit being placed on marriage with practically all near relations.

Marriage with two sisters is not a practice among them, nor are daughters exchanged. Occupation is no bar to marriage, provided that it is not unclean, i. e., that of a sweeper.

Adoption.—When a man has no son he usually adopts one of his own family or sept, such adopted son becoming in all respects the son of his adopter.

Age of Marriage.—The age appears to vary considerably and there is now a great tendency to form infant marriages.² The age is supposed, however, to lie between 12 and 20 for a girl and 16 to 30 for a youth, cohabitation being of course contemporary with marriage.

¹ *Central India*, i. 425 ; ii. 123.

² Bhūmia Hamir Singh, Rissaldar of Jāmnia, married an infant bride lately.

The fact of a girl's reaching puberty unmarried casts no slur on the parents and no ceremony is performed on the occasion of her first menses.

Husbands are easily procured and girls never remain single on this account.

Adultery.—Sexual license before marriage is not recognized at all, but when cases occur the girl is not allowed to marry by the ordinary ceremony and she is simply sent to her lover.

When such a case occurs with a betrothed girl, she is first sent to her fiancé, if he accepts her then all is well, but if not, her lover is searched for and she is then made over to him, such lover being obliged to repay the betrothed man any money he may already have expended on the forthcoming marriage.

Where connection has been had with a man of superior caste, such as a Rajput, Brāhman, or Bania, the children may be admitted to the Bhilāla tribe; but if the girl has lived with a low caste man, her offspring is unable to enter the tribe.

A woman who has lived with a man in this way may become the wife of a Bhilāla, but is unable to go through the marriage ceremony.

Polygamy and Polyandry.—Polygamy is allowed and is practised by the well-to-do and by those whose first wife is barren. Polyandry is unknown.

Hypergamy.—This is not recognized and does not exist in the tribe, but from information it would appear that marriages with Rajputs just above the Bhilāla in social status not infrequently occur although the practice is not generally admitted to exist.

Marriage ceremonies. *Bhānjgad.*—This ceremony consists in the making of private inquiries by some friend of the bridegroom as to the girl's suitability. When she is found to be satisfactory in every way they proceed to the next ceremony.

Sagai or Betrothal.—The boy's father or other relation proceeds to the girl's village but does not go up to her home, sending to her father. The girl's father then sends back word as to the bride-price he wants, at the same time forwarding 400 grains of maize by his messenger.

On the arrival of the grain 50 seeds are picked out by the boy's father and sent back to the girl's father; the girl's father then sends 200 grains back of which 80 are returned to him by the boy's father. This is done four times usually and thus the bride-price ordinarily from 60 to 180 rupees is settled.

The boy's father then makes a present of 6, 9 or 12 maunds of grain and 1 maund of *ghī*, or instead of the *ghī* 8 *Chaukis* (1 *Chauki* = 4 sers) of *tilli* and 8 *Chaukis* of *urad*.

The boy's father, after the acceptance of this gift, goes to the girl's house, taking with him a jar (*min*) full of liquor. The officiating Brāhman then prepares four heaps of cowdung; on one of these the jar of liquor is placed. The girl's father then comes out and puts a small jar of liquor on a second heap and a *lota* full of water on the third heap.

The *Bhānjgadīa*, who acted for the boy's father, then advances and puts one rupee on the small jar and 8 annas on the *man* of liquor, 2 pice in the *lota* and 2 pice on the ground. These sums are taken by the girl's father.

Two representatives from each side then take their seat on a *chārpoy*. Four female relatives of the bride then bring a dish with coloured rice and turmeric powder and a lamp fed with *ghī*, which constitutes the recognition and welcoming of the boy's representatives, and is called *Wadhwāna*.

The boy's father puts one rupee in the dish which is waved round the four heaps of manure, while a *tika* is marked on the foreheads of the men and on the *chārpoy*.

The officiating person, some times a Brahman, more usually a relative of the girl, then takes some liquor out of the large jar (*man*), gives some to each of the men on the *chārpoy* in leaf vessels (*pudia*) made of the leaves of *Butea frondosa*, and throws a little on the ground. The four men exchange cups four times in succession till each gets back his own.

The headman of the village is then called. He takes some liquor in a leaf-cup and announces in a loud voice that the betrothal between so and so of such and such village has been arranged, and that the bride-price agreed on is so much, and that the side which breaks it off will have to answer to the *panchāyat* for his conduct. He then drinks off the liquor in his cup. The four men and the officiating relative drink up their cups, after which liquor is distributed to all present, a dinner given by the girl's father following.

As the party breaks up the village headman once more stands up and says: "The betrothal is now completed in due form." All then depart.

Sawang or payment of bride-price.—The bride-price must be paid within two months of the last ceremony. When all is ready the boy's father notifies the girl's and then starts with his friends for the girl's village, taking a cart loaded with grain and *ghī* and the cash required.

He halts at the boundary during the day and at 9 o'clock at night starts for the bride's house.

Here the *Wadhwāna* ceremony described above is repeated, after which the boy's party retire.

At midnight they return to the girl's house with the cart. The girl's sister (or other near female relative) then comes out bearing a *lota* of water on her head and an earthen pot (*kulada*) in her hand. She is accompanied by four other women, who bring the dish, rice, etc., as used at the *Wadhwāna*. The men at the door take the *lota* off the sister's head and put two pice into it, and one rupee into the dish brought by the others.

The women mark the *tika* on the foreheads of the men, of the bullocks and of their driver.

The girl's brother (or other near male relative) then comes out of the house with a dish of *khichri*, in a winnowing pan, for the bullocks. The boy's father puts one rupee in the pan which the girl's brother takes.

The girl's sister then pours some of the water out of her *lota* in front of the bullocks while the brother feeds them on the *khichri*. The cart is then unloaded and the articles put into the girl's father's house.

The *Chauki* or grain measure is then produced and after the dish of coloured rice has been waved over it, is used to measure the grain. If the quantity is correct, the boy's party retire.

The next morning some goats are sent over by the boy's father, when they are killed and the flesh distributed.

The boy's party then come, bringing the cash which forms part of the payment to the girl's father.]

The four women receive the party and repeat the *Wadhvāna* ceremony, four men sitting as before on a *chārpoy*. The officiating relative then takes four rupees from the cash presented and gives it to the four men on the *chārpoy* who exchange them as they did the cups.

When the exchange is complete the four rupees are restored to the rest of the money and the whole sum is made over to the girl's father. A feast follows and all retire.

Muhurt or auspicious day.—The day for the wedding is then fixed and also for the procession, a Brāhman being consulted.

Notra or invitation.—The respective fathers now issue invitations to the wedding by sending round to their relatives and sept-fellows a little coloured rice. The messenger goes to the relative's house and scatters some of the coloured rice before his door. On the appearance of the master of the house he informs him of the day fixed and also, when the procession will start from the bride's village.

Bāna or procession.—This ceremony is performed separately at the bride's, as well as the bridegroom's house, the proceedings being similar. This ceremony lasts about four or five days. On the first day the guests assemble at about 7 o'clock in the evening. The bridegroom is then seated on a stool by the females of his household who proceed to anoint his body with turmeric, singing songs during the operation. He then bathes, after which a *tika* is placed on his forehead and the *ghī*-fed lamp is waved round his head (*Arati*).

All then dine. After the meal the boy again takes his seat as before (N.-B.—*New clothes are not given him at this stage.*) and the females dance before him (called *Madal*), while the men perform the dance in which time is kept by beating sticks together (called *Antia*). [See Plates.]

The party lasts till daybreak.

The ceremony of anointing with turmeric is repeated every day during the continuation of the *bāna*.

On the fourth day the guests re-assemble at the house, which has been cleaned and freshly *liped*.

The officiating relative then puts a stool in the centre of the clean house with a *ghī*-fed lamp on it. The woman folk then sit round it in a ring and sing the praises of their ancestors, the officiating relative making a *tika* mark on the stool in honour of each deceased person sung about. If the deceased was of a liquor drinking sept some liquor is sprinkled round the stool in his name, but if he was not a liquor drinker, *gur* is substituted. This ceremony continues through the night up to 9 or 10 o'clock the next day. A feast concludes the ceremony.

Erection of the Mandapa.—The *mandapa* or marriage canopy is erected on the fifth day of the *bāna*.

Nine holes are dug in front of the house each five cubits (*hath*) apart, in three rows. In the four corner holes bamboos are fixed, each hole first having some coloured rice, a pice, and some betel nut placed in it, by the officiating relative. This done, the bamboos are taken out again and teak wood posts substituted, similar posts being also placed in the other five holes. Cross pieces of teak are attached and the roof covered in with bamboo.

Then the bridegroom's brother and his wife, and his sister and her husband wrap raw cotton thread round the pillars seven strands on each.

A feast and dancing conclude the proceedings. (This ceremony is done simultaneously at the bridegroom's and bride's houses).

Devator worship of the family goddess.—When the canopy is ready, the family goddess is worshipped. The figure of this goddess is drawn on the wall with turmeric. A stool is put before the image with some rice, a cocoanut, some betel nut, and one pice, on it and a *ghī*-fed lamp beside it.

An offering of *ghī*, *gur* and rice is then made by the officiating relative, who gives a small quantity to the bridegroom, his near relatives being given the rest to eat. No person of a different sect may be present on this occasion.

(This ceremony is similarly carried out at the bride's house.)

Ukedī puja or worship of the rubbish heap.—On the last day of the *bāna* the officiating relative proceeds, accompanied by females, singing, to the village rubbish heap, where he secrets a piece of cloth.

(The same ceremony is carried out at the bride's house.)

Chauri or ceremony of propitiation.—After the *Ukedī puja* is over a post of *kakar* wood is planted in the centre of the canopy so as to project three cubits (*hāth*) from the ground. Round it four planks of the same wood are arranged in a square, whence the name *Chauri*.

After midday the sister and brother's wife of the bridegroom give him a bath and then seating him on a stool within the *Chauri*, rub him with turmeric. After a second bath he is given new white clothing. When dressed he enters his house, keeping his eyes tightly closed and stands before his mother who is awaiting him. She then says to him, "*Beta, sona hai yā rūpa,*" and he replies, "*Rūpa.*" He may then open his eyes and leaves the house.

(The same ceremony is gone through by the bride.)

When he has returned to the canopy he takes his seat again having before him a dish containing a few grains of coloured rice and beside him a *ghī*-fed lamp. The guests then approach him and put small sums into the dish as a wedding gift. This is the *Notra* ceremony.

The uncles, both paternal and maternal, then approach with the bridegroom's sister's husband (*bahinai*) and the husband of his paternal aunt (*phūwa*) and other near relations and give the bridegroom's father a new *pagri* and *dupatta*, and his mother a new *luga* and *kānchli*, at the same time making the *tika* mark on their foreheads. This is called the *Māmera* ceremony.

(It takes place also at the bride's house.)

The Barāt.—In the evening of the same day the *Barāt* or marriage procession starts. The bridegroom puts on a new *dhoti*, a white coat with saffron border for else saffron coloured coat a coloured *pagri* and a *dupatta*, and silver bracelets (*kalas*) on his wrists. If he is rich he also wears *langar* or anklets and a *tāgli* or necklace. Before he starts the officiating relative binds a thread carrying a *mindal* seed on his right wrist and places the *mor* on his head and a sword in his right hand. The bridegroom thus caparisoned enters the canopy keeping his shoes on his feet and takes his seat there. Here coloured rice is applied to the sword and also to the boy's forehead and a *ghī*-fed lamp is waved round his head by his sister.

Dinner is then eaten, after which they set out, with much firing off of matchlocks, accompanied by music.

They halt outside the bride's village and are met by the girl's father and his relations, accompanied by the village potter with a new jar full of water on his head. The jar is made over to the bridegroom, the potter getting two annas. The party then proceed to the place selected for their residence. This is the *Sāmera* or ceremony of reception.

The bridegroom's party then take a jar of liquor to the bride's house where a ceremony similar to that already described under *Sawang* is performed, ending with a drink all round. The bride's mother then enters the house and washes the bride's face, presenting her with a cocoanut shell full of *gur* with one rupee in it, the shell being enveloped in red cloth.

Wedding.—In the morning of the day of the wedding the bride's mother goes, with music playing before her, to the bridegroom, taking with her a basket containing some *ghi* and *gur*. She washes his mouth with water, applies a *tika* to his forehead, and waves a *ghī*-fed lamp round his head. She places the basket before the bridegroom wrapped in a new *lagra*, and then goes home. This is the ritual of *Samādhān* or consoling the bridegroom.

The bridegroom then proceeds up to the bride's house and with the point of his sword strikes the marriage *toran* (usually made of a basket covered with *pīnal* leaves, hung on a bamboo). This is the *Toran Chhibna* ceremony. He then returns. The whole procession now proceed to the bride's house, the bridegroom riding on a pony, accompanied by musicians. The bride's sister (or her brother's wife) receives and welcomes them, applying a *tika* mark to his forehead and performing the usual *arati* ceremony. A rupee is paid to the village headman by the bridegroom's father, at this stage of the proceedings.

The bridegroom now enters the canopy and takes his seat in the *Chauri* facing east, leaning his back against the central post.

The relations of the bridegroom send a present of clothing to the bride, consisting of a white *lagra*, white *kānchli*, a comb, a *mor*, shoes, the coloured thread called *Lachha* and some coloured rice and a *mindal* seed on a thread.

The bride's sister takes these things and goes into the house to dress the bride. The bride then appears dressed and wearing a *tāgli* or necklace, armlets and other silver ornaments and a gold nose-ring, all her father's gifts, and has the *mindal* seed tied on to her right wrist. She enters the canopy and sits on the left of the bridegroom.

The officiating relative then brings in the bride's brother and his wife and seats them near her. He then places a betel nut and a pice in the brother's wife's hand. The right hand of the couple are then joined. It is called the *Hatti weda jorna*.

The bride's sister then knots together the bride's *lagra* and the groom's *dupatta*, while the bride's mother gives the bridegroom a silver ring, a piece of cloth, and a pair of silver bracelets. The pair then circumambulates the *Chauri* post; first, the bridegroom leading, they circle it four times to their right, then, the bride leading, three times to their left. This is the *phera phirna* ceremony.

The pair then enter the house and worship the bride's family goddess' image and eat *kansar*, a meal composed of coarse flour boiled and mixed with *gur* and *ghī*.

They then proceed together to the *Ukedi* accompanied by the guests and seek for the piece of cloth previously concealed there. This forms an omen as to which will rule the house, the finder being supposed to dominate.



The pair then return to the house, where the bride's sister unties the knot in their garments. The bridegroom then again takes his seat in the canopy with his bride. On four successive occasions the bride is taken away from the bridegroom's side by her sister and each time is brought back to his side by the bridegroom's brother's wife. She is then again taken away and this time is not fetched back.

The bridegroom then returns to the place where he is stopping. This is the *Ana-Khelna* ceremony.

A dinner is then given by the bride's father to the bridegroom's party, at the place where they are stopping.

The bride's mother on this occasion brings a special dish and sets it before her son-in-law. This he refuses to touch until he has been given certain gifts, usually a cow or female buffalo, or plough bullock. He then consents to eat.

After dinner the party return to the bride's house and the bridegroom resumes his seat in the *Chauri*. The bride is brought out from the house and seated at the door with a dish before her and a *lota* full of water beside it. The bride's relations then advance and each gives according to his means, placing the money in the dish. The *Māmara* ceremony as already described is then performed.

Return of Barāt.—The bride now joins her husband and they advance to the door of the house and together pluck up the bamboo on which the *toran* is fastened and let it fall to the ground.

Preparations are then made for the start and finally the pair, accompanied by the bridegroom's party, return to the bridegroom's village.

Ana ceremony.—A week later the girl's mother together with 25 men, goes to the bridegroom's house where the bridegroom's father gives them a dinner.

The wedded pair then enter the canopy and together take up the pole in the centre and afterwards the *Chauri* planks. They then re-enter the house and worship the household goddess. A feast follows.

The next morning the bride leaves with her brother and returns to her father's house.

Eight days later the bridegroom goes to the bride's house when the ceremonies given above are repeated and he takes his bride back with him.

Expenses :—The ordinary expenses are as follows.—

For the bridegroom :—

									Rs.	A.	M.
for the bridegroom ;—											
1.	Bride-price								100	0	0
2.	Feasts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
3.	Ghī (3 maunds) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	0	0
4.	Gur (1 maund) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
5.	Liquor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
6.	Goats for feasts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
7.	Clothes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
8.	Musicians	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
9.	Expenses of various arati ceremonies	25	0	0
10.	Other expenses (<i>e. g.</i> , Turmeric, etc.)	10	0	0
								TOTAL	315	0	0

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For the bride's people.—

							Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Grain, etc.	100	0	0
2.	Liquor	10	0	0
3.	<i>Ghā</i> (1 maund)	30	0	0
4.	<i>Gur</i> (1 maund) ...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
5.	Goats for feasts ...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
6.	Musicians	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
7.	Ornaments for bride	...	...	...	...	...	71	0	0
							Rs.		
viz.,	1. <i>Tāgli</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	8		
	2. <i>Baoli</i> for feet ...	...	...	...	...	...	16		
	3. <i>Bājuband</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	10		
	4. <i>Kada</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	20		
	5. <i>Ghelas</i> and <i>jhunkas</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	5		
	6. Nose-ring ...	...	...	...	...	...	6		
	7. <i>Bindi</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	6		
8.	Ornaments and clothes for bridegroom	...	...	...	...	...	6	8	0
9.	Cows (given by bride's mother)	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
10.	Headman's fee ...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
11.	Miscellaneous ...	...	...	...	...	...
							257	8	0

Other form of Marriage.—The form known as *Ghar-jamai* where a man works seven years for his wife is not uncommon. (See *Patlias* for full account.)

In such case no *sawang* is paid, as the work done by the bridegroom for his father-in-law cancels this debt.

Abduction.—Marriage by abduction is also practised sometimes and is known as *Rākshasi wivāha* or *Ghiskar-lejana*. The lover comes with some companions and forcibly carries off the girl. None of the ordinary forms are gone through, but the marriage is considered valid, and the girl's father can claim the *sawang* or bride-price from the man. This amount is fixed by the *panchāyat*, and is usually about Rs. 100.

Udal or the choice of a husband.—The process in this case is simple, as no ceremonies are performed. As soon as the mutual attraction has been declared to the girl's father by his daughter and he finds that the man is also willing he is obliged to consent. At the same time the *panchāyat* is called on to decide what payment the husband is to make. This is usually fixed as Rs. 100. The girl simply goes to her husband's house.

Widow re-marriage.—The re-marriage of widows is recognised among *Bhilalas*. A widow can in no case marry any relation of her late husband and therefore cannot marry a brother-in-law. The ceremony of re-marriage is the *Nātra*. The *Bhānjgadiya* is sent as usual. When it is found that the widow consents, the proposer sends a deputation of four or five men who have themselves married widows, by night to the widow's father. Here they meet several similarly deputed persons from the other side and

1. The higher classes now prohibit it owing to Hindu influence but among the lower strata of society it is practised.

arrange payment to be made. The usual price is about Rs. 40. The next day both parties meet at the house of the widow's father at night, taking the money required for the marriage price and also clothes for the woman and liquor.

The money is paid and the clothes are presented. After dinner the pair return to the man's village, where a feast is prepared for them. Eight days later the widow's father sends certain ornaments to his daughter, *viz.*, two *Kadas* (or anklets), a *Baotia* and a *Tāgli* worth about Rs. 40. A *Nātra* wedding must take place at night and those who assist must do so seven times at different *Nātra* ceremonies to avoid evil consequences.

The cost of such a wedding to the husband is about 50 rupees, 40 as *dahej*, 3 in clothes and the rest in feasts.

If a widow has a son by her first husband, he inherits all the property, and if she has no son it passes to her late husband's nearest of kin. The widow is, however, allowed to keep the ornaments given her at her first marriage.

If a widow re-marries a second time, no ceremony and no payment are required.

Divorce.—The same ceremony is observed as that described under Patlias, the man tearing off piece of his turban before the *panchāyat* (See Patlias).

Inheritance.—The usual Hindu law is observed, ancestral property being divided equally among the sons.

In case of inheritance to a *patel-ship* the son very commonly succeeds his father but not necessarily so. Of late years moreover the *patel-ship* successions have been controlled by the Darbār who appoint their own headmen irrespective of family claims in many cases.

Widows without children have a life-interest in their husband's property. When sons disagree with a widowed mother, she is given, for life, an equal share to that enjoyed by her sons.

Where there are no heirs the Darbār becomes the heir.

Trial by ordeal, etc.—Cases of a civil nature are largely decided by oaths taken on water, at the *Sarkāri Gaddi* or chair representing the ruling chief's presence, and other methods.

They do not swear by the *Bārābij* as Bhils do.

Omens.—These are the same as those given for Patlias and Bhils. The same prognostications from the eggs of the lapwing, sparrows washing in dust, etc., are followed as regards the monsoon as have been already given under Bhils.

Religion.—They consider themselves Hindus, and though they undoubtedly have as much claim to be considered so as members of the lower classes of the recognised Hindu community, they borrow a certain number of the more animistic practices of their Bhil neighbours.

They consider the deity Unkār Mahadev, on the island of Unkārñāth in the Narbadā, as their special tutelary god, while they accept all the other members of the Hindu pantheon. They also reverence the tombs of Musalmān saints.

In fact their statements as recorded shew that they are in all essentials Hindus and that they are admitted to be so as shewn by their being allowed to enter temples and generally take part with Hindus in all religious ceremonies.

Priests are not necessarily employed by them, although when possible Brahmins are engaged, particularly by the well-to-do such as the Bhūmia landholders. An elderly and respected member of the family can always act as *pujārī* (See Marriage Ceremonies).

Death.—On the death of any one a *dol* is prepared for the corpse. This is not a bier but a canopied structure covered with cloth and open on one side. On each corner a *lota* is placed and also one in the centre, while four cocoanuts are hung from the feet on which it rests.

The corpse is then bathed and clothed.

The *Kāltiya* (officiating Brāhman or other person) throws a mixture of rice, *ghī* or *gur* into a fire,

The corpse is then placed in the *dol* in a seated position and in the case of a man, covered with a sheet, and with a woman, with a *lagra*, both white.

If the corpse is that of an unmarried person some turmeric is smeared over the cloth.

The *Kāltiya* taking some smouldering cowdung cakes in his hand then starts, followed by the *dol* with its mourners, accompanied by gun shots and music. At the village gateway they pause, *cowris* and pice being thrown on to the *dol*.

At this gate the women take off the widow's lac bangles and break them up.

The *dol* is then carried on to a convenient *ber* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) tree under which it is set down. A piece of the pall is torn off and a pice tied up at one end, the rag being then hung up on the tree,

The procession then goes on to the cremation ground. The females wash their clothes and bathe, then they return to the village, clean up and *lip* the deceased's house and place a bed on the spot on which he died. Some ashes are strewn on the same spot and a basket inverted over them and a *ghī*-fed lamp placed beside it.

Meanwhile the corpse is burned on a pyre, the body being laid with its head to the north. The face is washed and all ornaments are taken away. A bow and arrow are laid beside the dead and a rupee placed in his mouth. Sticks are laid on the top of the body and the officiating priest or relative ignites the pyre to the sounds of music.

The *dol* is broken up and thrown on to the pyre. When burned out the ashes are cooled with water and removed, the ground being sprinkled with cow's urine and milk, and a mixture of *gur* and *ghī* spread over it.

The unburned bones are collected to be thrown into the *Narbadā*.

All then bathe and wash their clothes after which they return home. The bundle of preserved bones (called *phūl*) is hung up in the house.

The ashes under the basket are now minutely scrutinised to see what signs can be made out, and if the imprint is that of a bird's foot the deceased's next existence will be that of a bird, if of an animal he will return as that animal, if of a man's foot of a man, and so on. The ashes are then removed and the spot *liped* afresh. All meals taken by the deceased's family are prepared by relatives and brought to them as no cooking can be done by the household. This completes the first day. On the second day the *Kāltiya* comes and places a *lota* of water, a tooth-stick, and some rice on a leaf-plate, on a bedstead placed there after the departure of the corpse on the first day.

The neighbours and relatives then appear to pay a visit of condolence.

The date for the *Nukta* or funeral caste feast is then fixed.

On the 3rd and 4th days the food, etc., for the deceased is renewed.

On the 5th day the bedstead is removed as after this day the spirit of the dead no longer wanders round the house so does not require the food, tooth-stick, bed, etc., which were needed for its material comfort during the preceding days.

On the 6th day nothing is done.

On the 7th day the *phāl* or bones of the dead man are taken down and carried to the Narbadā. Here a dinner and alms are given to the Brāhmins who live at the *ghāt* selected. The bones are then thrown into the stream together with some rupees.

On the 8th and 9th days notice of the days of the date fixed for the *Nukta* is given to all concerned.

On the 10th day the house is swept and *līped* afresh.

In the afternoon the near male relations proceed to a neighbouring stream accompanied by a barber and have their heads, moustaches, and eyebrows shaved; only *choti* is left. This is the *ghāta* ceremony.

On the 11th day twenty-four water vessels, of either metal or earthen ware (according to the wealth of the family) are brought full of water by relatives of the deceased. Of these twelve are arranged in a line from north to south, covered with pieces of cloth. A piece and a piece of betel-nut are put before each and they are worshipped. The *Kāltiya* breaks one jar and the rest are emptied and taken up to the house empty.

The other twelve are brought up to the house full. One of these is placed by the *Kāltiya* inside the house, the others being emptied just outside by the women folk and then brought inside empty, and set down.

On the 12th day Narbadā water is distributed to all the guests who drink it; in this males, females, and children take part. The *Nukta* or funeral feast follows. It consists of *laddu* (ball sweetmeats), *mālpūwa* (sweet cakes of flour and *gur* fried) and *tafi* (flour mixed with *gur* and water). These delicacies are not provided except by those who are well off.

On the 13th day the proceedings terminate, by the presentation of a new turban and *dupatta* to the dead man's son and successor.

The widow then washes the feet of the deceased man's sister's son (*bhānej*) who is given a new turban and *dupatta*, a pair of shoes, and food for one day. (Rich people often give a cow as well.) The *Kāltiya* is also rewarded with a *pagri* and *dupatta*.

After a dinner all return to their houses. This is the *Shok torna* ceremony.

Lepers, ascetics, and children who have not cut their teeth are buried. In former days lepers were buried alive as this was believed to prevent infection. Those who die of smallpox are only buried so long as the disease is still epidemic.

At the end of the visitation the bodies are exhumed and burned.

Cremation Grounds.—These are selected near a stream so that the ashes may be easily disposed of, and also the bathing required can be easily performed during the ceremonies.

Shrāddh.—*Shrāddh* is performed in the orthodox fashion.

Occupation.—Agriculture they consider to have always been their occupation, and to be so still. They admit, however, that thieving was, at one time, a favourite means of livelihood, but that since law and order have been restored thieving has become unprofitable, and quote the proverb:—

Māth-bhar lāwe ne unt bhar dewe.

He (a thief) gets but a handful of grain in return for a camel load (of loot).

A certain number of the tribe serve in the Mālwa Bhil Corps.

In agricultural matters they follow the usual local customs pursued by other Hindus. On the *Diwāsa* (or *Sāwan badī Amāwāsya*), *Kāli-Chaulas* (*Kārtik badī 14*), *Diwālī* (*Kārtik badī Amāwāsya*), and *Gori* (*Kārtik sudī 1st*), no agricultural operations may be carried on.

Other practices are the same as those commonly followed in Central India.

Social characteristics, etc.—

Food.—There is a distinction as regards food between the *Badi Jāt* and *Chhoti Jāt*. The four first septs profess not to touch liquor or eat fowls. Otherwise the Bhilālas eat the same food as Patliās. They will not take *pakki* or *kachchi* from Kolis, Bhils, Mānkars, Balais or Chamārs. Water is accepted from Mānkars and Patliās and the *chilam* from Patliās. They also give their *chilam* to Mānkars but will not accept that of a Mānkar.

Dress.—The dress worn is, in the case of the well-to-do, similar to that of Hindus, otherwise it is the same as that worn by Bhils and others in the same tract.

The women wear petticoats (*ghāgras*), a cloth over their heads (*lugra*) and a bodice (*kānchli*).

The ornaments used are :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Bor</i> | ... Silver worn on the hair. |
| 2. <i>Rākhadi</i> | ... „ worn at the end of the pigtail. |
| 3. <i>Būndi</i> | ... „ lies on each side of the forehead. |
| 4. <i>Pānadi</i> | ... „ worn in upper lobe of ears. |
| 5. <i>Ogma</i> | ... „ worn in lower lobe, |
| 6. <i>Toti jhumka</i> | ... „ „ |
| 7. <i>Tāgli</i> | ... „ necklace. |
| 8. <i>Sānkali</i> | ... „ „ |
| 9. <i>Tedia</i> | ... Gold „ |
| 10. <i>Banki</i> | ... Silver amulets, |
| 11. <i>Bājūband</i> | ... „ „ |
| 12. <i>Kada</i> | ... „ „ |
| 13. <i>Kamari</i> | ... Glass bangles, ten on each wrist. |
| 14. <i>Gūjai</i> | ... Silver bangles, one on each wrist. |
| 15. <i>Mathr-phūl</i> | ... „ on back of the hand. |
| 16. <i>Bitiya</i> | ... „ rings on fingers. |
| 17. <i>Kada</i> | ... „ anklets, one on each foot. |
| 18. <i>Langar</i> | ... „ „ |
| 19. <i>Bichhia</i> | ... „ toe rings. |

The sacred thread is not worn by Bhilālas.

Tattooing.¹—This is commonly practised now but they assert that it is an imported habit acquired from the Bhil. Only females tattoo.

Nomenclature.—Women's names are similar to lower caste. Hindu names, Nāni, Kuki, Jhumli, Gendi, Jhima, Rūpli, etc., Men's names are chiefly Rajput, e. g., Hainu Singh, Gulab Singh, Narsingh, as well as Sanlia, Budhia, and the like. Approbrious names are given to children whose elder brothers have died prematurely.

1. See C. E. LUARD—Tattooing in Central India, Indian Antiquary, 1904.

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APPENDIX.

The Bhilala Septs.

BADI JAT.

1. *Rāwat.* This sept claims Baghela Rājput origin.
They state that their ancestors came to Mewār, whence some of the clan went to assist the Rājā of Alī-Rājpur. Owing to their mixing with Bhilālas they lost caste.

2. *Chokhla Wāskala.* This branch of the Wāskalas claims Rāwat descent.

Note.—In this account only these two septs and not as usual four are given in a superior status. They do not drink liquor or eat fowls. As regards other customs they are on the same footing as the remaining septs.

CHHOTI JAT.

3. *Wāskala.* An offshoot of the Chokhla sept. A member of that sept broke the rule regarding wine and fowl's flesh and his descendants were degraded.
4. *Bhaidia.* *Local:* from the Bhaidia hills, a range in Alī-Rājpur State.
5. *Solia.* *Local:* from Solia village in the Kanas *tahsīl* of Jhābua State.
6. *Jamra.* *Local:* from Jamra village in Jobat State.
7. *Kaochha.* Called after the Konch creeper.
8. *Nigwal.* Takes its name from the occupation of its members who extract the "toddy," palm juice called *nigal*.
9. *Rāthor.* Claim Rājput descent.
10. *Bandol.* No explanation.
11. *Sastia.* *Local:* from Sastipura village in Bāgh *pargana* of Gwalior State.
12. *Ajnāria.* Called after the *Anjan* tree (*Hardwickia binata*) which they revere and never injure as being the home of their tutelary deity.
13. *Masania.* An ancestor was connected with the upkeep of a crematory (*masan*.)
14. *Kiradia.* No explanation. Apparently connected with *kīraḍ*, meaning a valley.
15. *Gadria.* No explanation.
16. *Arwadia.* No explanation.
17. *Chomalka.* No explanation.
18. *Chauhān.* Claim Rājput origin.
19. *Tadawala.* Offshoot of No. 18, not explained.
20. *Changod.* Offshoot of No. 18, called after the founder, Changa by name.
21. *Randha.* *Local:* from Ranada village in the Bori estate in Jhābua State.
22. *Mujalda.* Not explained.
23. *Kanasia.* *Local:* from Kanas village in Jhābua.
24. *Avasia.* *Local:* from Avasgarh, the old capital of Barwāni State.
25. *Māli.* So called from the founder being a Māli by caste.
26. *Bāmnia.* A corruption of Brāhman. Claims descent from girl who was a Brāhman's mistress.
27. *Wania.* Descended from a Bania, one Suklal of Ghora village in Jobat, and a Bhil girl who was his mistress.

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28. *Wiskia*. *Local*: from Wiskiapura in Dhār State.
29. *Mori*. *Local*: from Moripura in Tānda *pargana* in the Amjhera district of Gwalior.
30. *Dāwar*. Not explained.
31. *Dodwa*. *Local*: from Dod, a *pargana* of the Chhota Udepur State. (Bombay).
32. *Chamka*. Not explained.
33. *Bhābar*. Not explained.
34. *Guthria*. Not explained.
35. *Sanplia*. Not explained.
36. *Semlia*. Called after the *Semal* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*), the home of their tutelary goddess. They always worship under this tree, and never injure it.
37. *Dharwa*. *Local*: originally from Dhār State.
38. *Ohariya*. *Local*: from Oharan village in Ali-Rājpur State.
39. *Jobtia*. *Local*: from Jobat State.
40. *Devada*. Rājput [Deora] descent is claimed.
41. *Nargawah*. *Local*: said to be derived from Narbadā, the sept living on its banks.
42. *Bhaonra*. Not explained.



B.

THE BHILS.

Introduction.—The Bhils are a section of the well known wild tribe, which inhabits Western Mālwa and the Vindhyan-Sātpurā region along the Narbada Valley. The members of this tribe are dark skinned and of low stature, the average height of a man being about 5 feet 2 inches. They are wiry and often thick set, with great powers of endurance. In 1901 the Jhabua State returned 58,428 Animists, almost all Bhils or allied tribes, forming 72 per cent. of the population. The total numbers in Central India were 206,934.

Name.—The name Bhil is said to be derived from the dravidian word for a bow, the characteristic weapon of the tribe. This name is not, however, used by members of the tribe among themselves as it is considered derogatory, the usual titles of relationship or position, such as *Bāp*, father, *Tarvi*, headman and the like being employed. In the case of entire strangers the polite prefix *dā* is added, as *Dā-Rupa*, *Dā-Walji*, etc.

Origin.—The traditions of the tribe point to immigration from a western home, but the story of this change of habitat does not appear to have survived. Various other tales of a fanciful class are told.

One relates that a *dhobī* who used to wash his clothes in a river was one day warned by a fish of the approach of a great deluge. The fish informed him that as he had always fed those of his species he had come to give him this warning and to urge him to prepare a large box which would enable him to escape. The *dhobī* prepared the box and got into it with his sister and a cock. After the deluge Rāma sent out his messenger to inquire into the state of affairs. The messenger heard the crowing of the cock and so discovered the box. Rāma then had the box brought before him and asked the man who he was and how he had escaped. The *dhobī* told his tale. Rāma then made him face in turn north, east, and west, and swear that the woman with him was his sister. The *dhobī* remained firm in asserting she was his sister. Rāma then turned him towards the south, upon which the *dhobī* contradicted his statement and said she was his wife. Rāma then asked who told him how to escape and on hearing at once had the fish's tongue cut out, and since then that kind of fish has been tongueless. Rāma then told the *dhobī* to set about repopulating the world, and he therefore married his sister by whom he had seven sons and seven daughters. Rāma presented the first born son with a horse, but the recipient of this gift, being unable to ride, left the horse on the plain and went into the forest to cut wood, he and his descendants becoming foresters and starting the Bhil tribe.

One tale relates how on the creation of the Bhil, five men went to see Mahādev. Pārvati, seeing them approaching, said to her spouse, "Here come five of my brothers to ask *dahej* and *dāpa* of you consequent on my marriage with you." Mahādev gave them a feast and then explained that except for his bull Nandi and his *kamandalu* he had nothing to give. They therefore went home. In order to give them something, however, Mahādev placed a silver stool (*pāt*) in their way, but they were incapable of seeing this. Pārvati noticing how they had missed the gift sent for them and told them what had happened, pointing out that as they were not able to see the stool, there was little hope of their prospering, but she would do what she could, and so informed them that they must be very careful of the Nandi whose hump was full of wealth untold. On reaching home one of the five suggested slaying the Nandi and obtaining the wealth, the others demurred, but he prevailed. No wealth was found in the hump and the five were dismayed. Pārvati now appeared and told them that they should

have yoked the bull to the plough and thus gained wealth from mother-earth, but that as they were so foolish as to slay the sacred animal she would never look on their faces again, and left in high displeasure. For thus killing the sacred animal the Bhil has ever lived a miserable existence, and been of no caste.

The Purānik origin of the Bhils traces descent from the thigh of Vena, son of Anga, a descendant of Manu Swāyambhuva. Vena was childless and the Sages therefore rubbed his thigh and produced "a man like a charred log, with flat face, and extremely short." He was told to sit down (*Nishāda*). He did so and was known as *Nishāda*, "from whom sprang the *Nishādas* dwelling on the Vindhyan mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds." ¹

Caste Subdivision.—The Jhābua Bhils form a compact group, which, although not cut off from communication with other sections of the tribe in the neighbourhood, may be taken for the purposes of this pamphlet as a type group. It has not, however, any local designation. There are said to be no higher or lower caste groups in the Bhil tribe as met with in this State.

As regards outcasting the institution is entirely an importation from Hindu customs, and the low status of the tribe as a whole practically precludes the admission of outsiders. A ceremony has, however, now been devised for such admissions. The person desirous of entering the Bhil caste is made to prepare *tīrth* as it is called. This consists of mixing cowdung with Ganges or other sacred water in a dish. This *tīrth* is then given to the chief man of a *pañchāyat*. The chief man sips this concoction which is then passed round to other members of the *pañchāyat*. Rice boiled in goat's blood is then handed round and partaken of in the same way. The ceremony concludes by a gift of a few rupees which are placed in the dish of the *tīrth* and are the perquisite of the chief man. This same ceremony applies in cases where a Bhil is re-admitted into the caste after having been outcasted. The use of this ceremony is becoming more common as Hindu ideas spread.

Names of Subdivisions.—The septs of the tribe are very variously given. These are detailed in the tabular form given in Appendices. So far as possible explanations of the names have been given and the totemistic nature of the sept noted, but considerable difficulty was experienced in getting at the facts, although the questions were put in the simplest way possible.

The usual reverence appears to be paid to any object which is regarded as a sept totem, it being never destroyed or injured. Nor is its effigy ever tattooed on the body.

Marriage.

General Rules.—The Bhil tribe being an endogamous group no Bhil can marry without it. The septs dealt with above are again all exogamous, and no member of a sept can marry another from the same sept.

This prohibition is extended for three generations to any sept into which a man has already married. A man can also not marry into the sept from which his mother came for three generations, as the members of this sept are held to be the brothers and sisters of such man. The same rule is extended to the septs of grandmothers, maternal and paternal.

1. See *Mahābhārata*, *Vishnu Purāna*, *Hari-Vansa*, etc.

This prohibition does not extend to the children of a paternal or maternal uncle or an aunt's brother-in-law.

Adopted Children.—An adopted son adheres to the same rules excluding his adoptive parents' septs.

Sisters.—A man can marry two sisters, but the exchange of daughters between fathers is not usual.

Other Prohibitions.—Social status is not a bar to marriage, at any rate in theory, though in practice apparently it does operate. Geographical position is no bar in itself, nor are sectarian variations.

Certain occupations are now looked upon askance, due to Hindu influence, and certain families are inclined to reject marriage with a family which has taken up the following professions, manufacture of winnowing fans (*supda*), sieves (*chālṇī*), of a butcher (*i.e.*, who kills an animal by cutting its throat as *kasais* do, but if he decapitates them he does not lose status), of a tanner, of a professional mendicant, of a Rāwal or dancer and singer.

Infant Marriage.—Infant marriage may be said to be non-existent, although some of those families who wish to be thought superior are adopting this custom from the Hindus. The Census of 1901 shewed that 22 per cent. of the Animistic females marry after 20 years of age in Central India, while men who marry after this age amount to 41 per cent.

The earliest ordinary age for marriage of girls is 12 years, while most are married between 15-40. Puberty has thus no place in determining the age at which a girl is to be married, and no penalty attaches to the presence of an adult unmarried girl in her home. Similarly marriage to inanimate objects is unknown. The bride also leaves at once after the marriage ceremony with her husband.

Courtship, though apparently by no means uncommon, is not now the prescribed method of arranging a marriage, which is usually managed by the parents more or less in accordance with Hindu ideas. This, undoubtedly an importation from the Hindus, has now been so long common that it may be considered a regular tribal custom.

Sexual intercourse before marriage.—When sexual intercourse takes place before marriage with the affianced husband, no penalty is incurred, except that the regular marriage ceremony is omitted, the girl simply being made over to the man.

Where the intercourse of a betrothed girl takes place with another than her fiancé, she is, if the fiancé still desires it, made over to him, but the support of the child born of the irregular intercourse is borne by the real father. The details in this case are settled by a *panchāyat*.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is permitted, but its practice is mainly determined by the financial condition of the man. The marriage of a second or third wife is attended with the same ceremonies as in the case of the first, provided she is not a widow. The Census shewed 1,024 wives to every 1,000 husbands, so that the custom is not general.

Polyandry.—This custom is absolutely unknown to the tribe.

Hypergamy.¹—No trace of this custom is discoverable among the septs of this section of the Bhil tribe.

1. *Hypergamy*, *i.e.*, marrying up. This practice is not uncommon where a tribe or low caste is trying to improve its status. Such tribe will allow its men to marry in sept below it, but the women must marry in or above it.

Ceremonies of Marriage :—

Bhānj-gad.—The preliminary process consists in deputing certain friends of the bridegroom to make private inquiries about the appearance and general character of the girl. When these prove satisfactory, the question of sept is gone into. The mediators who act in this case are rewarded, when the marriage is completed, with a gift of one rupee each.

Sagai, (betrothal).—On receiving the report of the *bhānjgadiyas* the bridegroom's father and relations together with men of respectability in his village proceed to the house of the bride's father.¹ They are met by the bride's father and his friends. Each side provides liquor, the greater amount being found by the bridegroom's people. Each party then retires to a distance and deliberates on the terms of the marriage. The amount to be paid by the bridegroom, the *dahej*, or bride's price, is then arranged, and a small sum is paid over to the bride's father as an advance, while one rupee is placed on the ground between the parties as a pledge of good faith.² This rupee is afterwards made over to the *Tarvi*, or head man of the bride's village, who acts as chief representative for the bride's father. This *Tarvi* after the payment of the advance to the bride's father, takes some of the liquor brought by each side and mixes it. This mixture is then handed round to both parties, by one of the bridegroom's party, the man who takes it round receiving 8 annas. This ceremony is termed *dhār-dena*.

The bride's father then gives a dinner of boiled rice, *ghī*, and sugar to the whole company. This concludes the ceremony.

The bride's father, as soon as the ceremony is complete, selects an auspicious day and then gives his daughter a silver *tāgli* or necklace and gold nose-ring as the marks of an affianced bride. The girl never appears personally during this ceremony.

Marriage-day.—After the settlement of the bride's price the marriage day is selected by the elders of the village who name an auspicious date. No Brāhmins are employed to fix this day.

The day after this has been settled some rice dyed with turmeric is given to a Bhil or to several, as the case may require. The men take this round and leave it on the thresholds of all who are invited to the wedding. The recipients entertain the messenger according to their means. This is the ceremony of *notra*, or invitation.

Bāna or Binora, procession.—Nine days before the actual wedding the *bāna* is held. On the first day some turmeric tied up in variously coloured cords, called *tachha* or *nāda*, is fastened to the point of an arrow and sent to the bride's home by the bridegroom.

On the arrival of the bearer of the *nāda*, the bride's people receive him and place before him a lamp fed with *ghī* and a dish containing powdered turmeric and *kunku*, which is afterwards waved round his head, called *wālāna*, the ceremony being termed *wadhāvana* or reception. The number of strings tied on the arrow shew the bride's party how many days are to elapse before the day fixed for the *bāna* procession.

¹ Usually on Sunday.

² In some places the father pays Rs. 20, of which Rs. 16-8 are given to the girl's parents while Rs. 3-8 are given to her sister if she has one, or her nearest female relative.

On the first day of the *bāna*, the relations of the bride and bridegroom anoint them with turmeric (*pīthī*, ceremony) and at the same time dip their hands in the solution and mark each other's *orhās* with the impress of their palms. Only women are supposed to be so marked, but in play men are also treated in this way.

When this part of the ceremony is complete the bridegroom appears from his house, carefully dressed in *dhoti*, *angarkha*, *pichhorī*, and *pagrī*, and wearing shoes, with a *rumāl* in his hand, and his eyelids blackened with *kājal*. In his hand he carries a sword.

A feast is given, the standing dish being *ghugri*, consisting of boiled wheat, gram or maize with *arvi* (*colocasia antiquorum*), but without salt, *capsicum* or other spices; balls of barley flour and *gur* are also eaten, and much liquor is drunk.

At the end of the feast the bride and bridegroom and all the men present remain seated, while the women sing standing accompanied by musicians playing on the *dholki* (small drum) and cymbals. Men also play on *antīyas*, or sticks.

This *bāna* ceremony is repeated on the third, fifth, seventh, or ninth day, but never on the even numbers.

The feast is given on the first day only. The whole ceremony has to be performed at both the bride and bridegroom's houses.

Wedding.—The wedding ceremonies may be conveniently divided into eight sections, the raising of the *mandapa*, the *notra* or gifts by near relations, the departure of the bridegroom for the bride's village, the wedding ceremony proper, the *daicha* ceremony, the worship of the *ukedi*, the departure of the *barāt*, and the *ana* ceremony or return of the bride to her parents' house.

Preparation of the Mandapa.

The *mandapa* or marriage canopy is made of four poles of *sālar* (*boswellia serrata*) roofed in with smaller poles and covered with leaves of *jāmun* (*eugenia jambolana*) and *āsāpāla* (*jonesia asoka*). A *mandapa* is erected at the house of both parties. The difference in the two cases, however, lies in the planting of the *chauri*, (a peg of green *sālar* wood one cubit long,) which is driven into the ground in the centre of the *mandapa* at the bride's house just before the arrival of the bridegroom's party.

The Notra.

The *notra* or bestowal of gifts by the invited guests in the presence of the bridegroom, seated in the *mandapa* is next performed. A lighted lamp is placed in front of him and beside it a dish. All the relations of the parties and the guests put into it such a sum as their means will permit. The bridegroom's sisters place a silver *kada* (ring) in it as their offering. A feast then takes place.

The bridegroom's departure to the bride's village, called Jān.

On the day of the wedding, a *mod*¹ is tied on the bridegroom's forehead, and one is also taken for presentation to the bride. The bridegroom and his party then proceed to the boundary of

1, Artificial garland or crown containing peacock's feathers.



the bride's village, where they halt. The *bhāṅgaliyas* are then sent on to summon the bride's father with his party. On his arrival the ceremony of *lāj-bhāṅ* is carried out. This consists in the payment of certain fees and dues, which vary in amount according to the circumstances of the people concerned, those given below are paid by the well-to-do. These dues are, whatever their value, always the same.

Dues and fees at a marriage.

				Rs.	A.	P.
1	Due paid to the State	...	...	...	1	4 0
2	Due to <i>Tarvi</i>	...	...	...	12	0 0
3	Gift to bride's mother	...	...	...	12	0 0
4	Gift to paternal uncle of bride	...	...	...	12	0 0
5	Gift to maternal " " "	...	...	...	12	0 0
6	Gift to brothers of bride	...	...	...	2	0 0
7	Gift to sisters " "	...	...	...	2	0 0
8	Gift to paternal aunt of bride	...	...	...	2	0 0
9	Due to village <i>dholi</i>	...	...	...	12	0 0
10	Dues to <i>Tarvis</i> of hamlets of bride's village for liquor, each	...	...	...	1	0 0
11	Due to head <i>gātradiya</i>	...	...	...	0	8 0
12	Due to person acting as priest	...	...	...	0	8 0
Total ...				69	4	0

This sum is calculated in the old *Sālim Shāhi* currency, but is paid in the British rupee equivalent.

Any balance due on the *duhej* is also settled at this time.

The bride's father, on the conclusion of this ceremony, provides the assembly with a feast. This consists of *rabāī* or boiled maize, and a goat, as well as one rupee's worth of liquor. It should be noted that this is the first occasion on which a goat is provided during the marriage ceremony. If more wine than one rupee's worth is required, the bridegroom's father gives it. This feast is called *got*.

The Wedding Day.

The bridegroom having completed these preliminaries crosses the boundary of his bride's village and approaches her house. Here he first touches the marriage *toran* or arch set up over the door-way, with the point of his sword, and pays a due of 4 annas to the village *Kotwāl* or watchman, a ceremony called *Toran-chhabāi hat* or the due for touching the arch.

The bridegroom then goes up to the *mandapa*. Here he is opposed by the bride's brother who obstructs his entrance by interposing his foot. The bridegroom then pays him 8 annas called *Hātā katārī lāj*.

The bridegroom then enters the *mandapa* and sits down. The husband of the bride's sister, or of her paternal aunt, then brings the girl to the *mandapa* carrying her on his hip. The bride has her hair un-bound, and wears a white bodice, and *orhnā*, and red petticoat, and the silver *tāglī* and nose-ring with which she was presented originally, as well as any other ornaments she possesses.

A single knot is now tied in the end of the bridegroom's *runāl* and of the girl's *orhnī*, a ceremony known as *chheda gathān*.¹

The bride's paternal aunt's husband now approaches and places a mango leaf, folded like a *bidi*, containing some coloured rice and one pice, on the top of the *chaurī* peg mentioned above, another similar packet being handed to the girl, who is conjured in a loud voice "Catch and hold this firmly." This folded leaf and its contents is called the *lagan*. The bridegroom with the bride on his left, sits down with the *chaurī* before them, facing east. One of the bride's relations then covers both with his *picholi*, and says to the groom, "Seize the *lagan*." The bridegroom then attempts to wrest the folded leaf from the bride. When he has obtained it, the groom followed by the bride circumambulates the *chaurī* four the position being then reversed the groom following the bride round the *chaurī* three times making a total of seven. This is called *lagan phirna* or *phera phirna*.

Daicha Ceremony.

On the completion of the above, the bride's father presents the newly married couple with milch animals according to his means, a she-buffalo, or cow being usually given the bride's relations when they can do so making similar gifts. This is the *daicha* or dowery.

Worship of the ukedī.

This is the last actual ceremony of the wedding. It consists in searching for certain articles which have been previously buried in the *ukedī*, or rubbish heap of the house. The articles previously concealed, without the knowledge of bride or bridegroom, are contained in a small basket called a *tugli* which is tied to an arrow shaft (without the barb) called *khadi*. The basket contains rice coloured yellow and a pice, rolled up in a piece of cloth.

As soon as the circumambulation is over, the newly married couple approach the *ukedī* heap and search in it with one hand for the *tugli*. The finder is supposed to be going to have the upper hand, and is much applauded. When the *tugli* has been found, the *Tarvi* of the bride's village cries with a loud voice : "Now that you have received *dahej* and *dāpaz*, the girl is placed in your keeping (*khole me dete hain*, i. e., placed in your *khola* or garment). Should she turn out a bad character, inform us. Should you kill her, remember, her caste people will take vengeance on you, but if she dies a natural death you have nought to fear."

The *Tarvis* of the bridegroom and bride's villages then exchange *chāks*.²

Departure of the Bridal Procession.

The bride's brother-in-law or her paternal aunt's husband (*phūwa*) now approach and loosen the knot (*chheda gathān*). The procession then goes beyond the village boundary. Here the bridegroom halts while his wife is taken home and has her hair dressed by her mother, being afterwards brought back to her husband by her brothers or other relations. The couple then go to the husband's house accompanied by singing, dancing, and general rejoicing.

Ana ceremony.

Three or four days after the departure for the husband's home the wife returns and visits her parents. An auspicious day is selected for this.

1. A piece of betel nut and one pice is often, but not always, tied up in the knot.
 2. See *anchāyat*, p. 19.

(24)

This is the ordinary regulation form of marriage, which is usually gone through.

Wedding ceremony expenses.—The total cost of the ceremony to the husband is about Rs. 125.

						Rs.	A.	P.
Dahej	...	...	..	...	...	45	0	0
Lāg-bhāg	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Liquor	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Clothes for bride	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Music	...	...	...	...	...	1	8	0
Hire of <i>mod</i>	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	0
Clothes, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	7	4	0
Total						125	0	0

To the bride's father the expenses amount to only about Rs. 50, 20 being for the bride's ornaments and 20 for food, while 10 are spent on liquor, food, etc. Generally speaking, less is now spent on weddings owing to loss of credit of late years and the consequent difficulty of obtaining a loan. A loan is practically always needed for marriage expenses, and often burdens a family for years. This lavish expenditure is in main a copy of Hindu customs.

Other forms of union.—The description above gives the orthodox form now followed by the well-to-do. Less exacting forms are however common.

(a) **Ghar-jamai.**—The payment of a bride price by means of personal service is often met with. Where the girl's father is well-to-do the young man undertakes to serve a term for his future father-in-law. This is commonest where the girl has no brothers to assist the father in his work. The usual term of years is seven. Ordinarily the two live as man and wife, but cannot leave the bride's home until the period of service is complete. If the two live amicably, but after two years have no issue, the father-in-law has them anointed with *pithi* as if for a regular wedding and they are made to circumambulate the *chauri*. The expenses in this case are only about Rs. 6.

After the term is over, or this ceremony has been gone through, the father-in-law provides the young couple with means to start their own home.

If the son-in-law does not complete his contract but absconds with his wife, then the father-in-law can recover the portion of the *dahej* and *dāpa* which is judged due by a *panchāyat*.

(b) **Marriage by capture.**—Marriage by capture or *Rākshasi vivāha* also called *ghiskar-lāṇa*, is still common. The usual time for abducting a girl is on the *Bhagoria* festival, the day before the *Holi* is burned. The young man assisted by his friends enters the village and make off with the girl. The father can claim payment of *dahej* and *dāpa*, the amount being settled by *panchāyat*. Occasionally the *pithi* ceremony and circumambulation is carried out as in the case of a *ghar-jamai* marriage.

(c) **Udal** or selection by the girl.—A girl often falls in love and then goes off with the man of her choice. *Dahej* is paid, as in the last case, and sometimes the short marriage ceremony is performed as in the case of *ghar-jamai*.

Widow re-marriage.—The re-marriage of widows is permitted. There is, however, no obligation for her to marry any particular person such as her husband's younger brother (*dewar*). When the consent of the lady is known the suitor goes to her village with some clothes as presents and attended by four or five friends. He pays seven pice to the widow's brother's wife (*bhābi*) or to her paternal aunt (*phuwa*), provided they have husbands living. A general drink is then indulged in, in which the *Tarvi* of the widow's village takes part, and the ceremony is complete. This re-marriage is always done by night. The widow never enters her new home by day, as this will, it is believed, produce famine. Any person who accompanies the man marrying a widow is bound to carry out this duty seven times.

The *dahej* payable by the man amounts to about 22 rupees, other expenses coming to about 20 more. The widow's father has no expenses. This *dahej* is paid on the day when the ceremony takes place.

A payment called *dewar bhatta* has to be made to the widow's late husband's relations if the man married is of another sept to that of her late husband. It amounts to about Rs. 5, a bullock being also given if means admit. Should the widow again re-marry, no payments of any kind are made.

The widow, and children by the re-marriage, have no interest in the property of the first husband after re-marriage.

In a case where she marries her deceased husband's younger brother, should there be already a son by the first husband, children by the second have no rights in the property of the first husband. If, on the other hand, there was no child by the first husband, children of the second inherit the property of the first husband.

Divorce.—To effect a divorce the injured man calls together his village *panchayat* and in their presence tears off a piece from the end of his *pagri* which he hands to his wife, stating that finding that her conduct was bad he is divorcing her and that from this day forth she will stand to him in the relationship of a sister. The divorcee takes the piece of cloth and hangs it carefully on a rafter of her father's house, for a whole month.¹ This shews that her former husband has no further rights over her and she can re-marry. In case of re-marriage no fees are payable to the former husband, but the father receives fees similar to those paid on a widow's re-marriage.

The marriage is of the *nātra* form. Marriage cannot be performed again with the divorced husband.

Adultery, though not disregarded by public opinion, is always remediable by fine of about Rs. 5. This is paid to the injured husband, *chāks* of liquor being also drunk. The woman continues in this case, no divorce following, to live with her husband. This presupposes the man to be of the same sept; if he was of lower caste she is *ipso facto* outcasted, but no fine is levied.

The Bhils are very suspicious of their women folk and not without reason, as the majority of the criminal cases which are brought by Bhils concern their women. This is given as a reason why they never build their huts close together.

1. Sometimes for half a month only.

Inheritance.—Tribal custom determines inheritance. Of the property half goes to the youngest son, who is responsible for the payment of all expenses incurred on his father's *nukta* (the feast given after his death usually on the 12th day after). He has also to make provision for his sisters. The other half is divided between the elder sons. If they all live together, a very rare occurrence, they share equally in the property. In the case of the deceased being a *Tarvi* or headman, his position is assumed, not necessarily by the eldest son, but by the most fit, who is chosen by the *Panchas*. He then becomes entitled to the usual rights pertaining to the position, as well as its responsibilities, such as entertaining strangers of position, etc.

In the case of a *Tarvi* dying childless, his successor is chosen in the family.

A widow is mistress of her late husband's property for life, provided she conducts herself properly. It is not uncommon, however, to divide the property in order to prevent disagreeable quarrels. A daughter can under no circumstances inherit her father's property.

Only those who are *sagotra* (of the dead man's sept) can inherit. If there are no heirs, the *Panchas* consider the case, and no relatives being traceable, the property goes to the *Darbār*.

Oaths and trial by ordeal—Trial by ordeal is common. The simplest form consists in making the man take a solemn oath and then waiting for seven days. If any mischance befalls him, his family, or possessions within this period, he is considered to have perjured himself, and the case goes against him. One common form of oath in such cases is this. The man is brought before the *Sarkāri Gaddi*. This is simply a chair in the nearest *Tahsīl* office. A clean white cloth is thrown over it and it is placed in full view. This represents the ruler of the state, is in fact the emblem of authority. The man touches the chair with both hands and swears by *Bārābīj*. The *Tarvi*, who is administering the oath, turns to the east, and draws a circle on the ground with the point of a sword, commencing on the east and passing round by the north and west. Within this circle two lines are drawn joining north and south and east and west. The sword is then placed in the circle with its point to the east. The *Tarvi* then turns to the man and says : " If your cause is a good and true cause, raise *Bhavānīmāta* in your hand (*i. e.*, the sword)." The man does so exclaiming "*Bārābīj* visit me with evil within seven days (or other period) if I swear untruly." He then lifts the sword, bows and replaces it. (See Plate.)

The *Bārābīj* are the twelve *bij* or second day of each month, on which the new moon is usually first visible, and is a day held in reverence. Other oaths are laying the hand on a son's head and swearing ; taking up one of the village gods (image) in the hand and swearing ; in boundary disputes a goat is beheaded and then skinned and the skin placed on the man's head, who, with his face to the east, swears his cause is good, and then drags the skin along the line of the boundary. Certain oaths are inviolable. One is that of the "dog." A Bhil swears with his hand on a dog's head calling out that the curse of the dog should fall on him if he swears falsely. It appears that the dog as the companion of Bhairon is specially looked up to.

Now-a-days a written agreement is often based on the oath, and the man taking the oath consents that if a serious calamity befalls him within a given time, he is to be considered as swearing falsely. An instance of the advantage of such an oath occurred in a case in which the opposite side burned to the ground the house of the man who had sworn. They then claimed damages because a calamity had befallen the other party within the specified time, and but for an accident which disclosed the plot the case would have been decided in their favour.

Omens.—These are very numerous, some are given in the table attached.

A list of common omens observed at starting out from the house.

No.	Omens.	Auspicious.	Inauspicious.	Time.
1	Beda-pāni calls	On the left ...	On the right ...	Any time.
2	Cry of the Devi-Chiriya	Left ...	Right ...	Day.
3	Caw of a crow	" ...	" ...	"
4	Cry of the Chiwarā	Right ...	Left ...	"
5	A deer crossing the path... ..	Left to right ...	Right to left ...	Night.
6	Call of the Sarā	Right ...	Left ...	Day.
7	Cry of the Sāras	Left ...	Right ...	"
8	Cat crossing path	Left to right ...	Right to left ...	"
9	Snake crossing path	In either direction	.....	Any time.
10	Cry of the Kanāhāri	Right ...	Left ...	"
11	Braying of a donkey	Left ...	Right ...	Day.
12	Bellowing of a bull	From either side	.....	Any time.
13	Lowling of a cow	Ditto ...	.....	"
14	Hooting of an owl	Left ...	Right ...	"
15	Howling of a jackal	" ...	" ...	Night.

When arriving at a destination Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13 are the same but Nos. 2, 3, 4, 10, 11 are reversed,

No man ever starts on any errand if one of the women of the house urges him not to, it would be unlucky.

If the wife is making bread at the time of an intended departure and the *kadela* (earthen pan) breaks it is inauspicious, and the journey is abandoned. If a peacock cries before dawn on the *Akhātīj* (3rd *Vaisākh*) his cries are counted as it is believed there will be as many months of rain as there are cries. This is considered a most reliable omen. The *Titroda* (*Lobivanellus goensis*) usually lays its eggs in the dry bed of streams, or on the bank. If the eggs are laid in mid stream and before the *Akhātīj* it is believed no rain will fall until the eggs are removed. If the eggs remain till *Srāwan* no rain will come at all. The bird is believed to know whether streams will fill or not. If the eggs are carefully laid in the bank, good rain will follow.

Moreover it usually lays four eggs. If these are standing on end in the sand, crops will be good on all sides, but if any one or more of the eggs is lying on its side the crops in that quarter will fail.

The failure of the *Dhujni* (?) to bloom prognosticates famine.

A man wishing to obtain some idea of the probable issue of an affair, takes a slender double branch of the *shakunāwālī* tree (?). He then bends the two ends horizontally outwards, stating in an undertone the business in hand. If the ends bend round without breaking all is well, but if they tear asunder it is inauspicious.

The appearance of a lark (*Kumhār kukda*) calling just before rain is due is a good sign. When sparrows constantly bathe in the dust, rain, even if just commenced, will soon cease.

The croaking of frogs is a sure prediction of rain.

It is usual to seek knowledge of the return of a member of the family. This is done by going to an old woman versed in such lore, who takes a winnowing fan which she balances on

the little fingers of her two hands, 5 grains of wheat or maize being placed on it. She then addresses the fan asking if the wayfarer will return. If the fan moves in answer all is well.

Charms and Witchcraft.—Many charms are used. They are used in the case of snake bite, severe fever, cattle diseases, and indeed generally where ordinary known remedies have failed.

The belief in magic and witch craft is universal, and the Badwa or witch-finder, like the medicine-man of the south-sea islands, is a person of importance. Should any man fall sick without clear cause he is called in to exercise the evil influences at work and discover the origin of the illness. With care he can usually discover some wretched old beldame who lives in the sick man's village, and falling into a trance describes her accurately to the inquirers. Before such things were prevented by the advance of civilised administration, such old women were, as in Europe, submitted to ordeals.

The witch was placed on one end of a yoke with cowdung cakes on the other in a pond, if she sank she was a witch, if she swam she was innocent.

Red pepper was put into her eyes, if no tears came she was a witch.

Her hand was plunged into boiling oil or placed on a hot iron; and so on.

As late as 1882 a wave of witch finding came over the Bhils and the Political Agent had to take special measures to cope with it. The Badwa used to get Rs. 10 for each witch detected.

The sick man is often subjected to fumigation with the leaves of plants, a charmed thread is tied on his neck, while a special dance in which the gods are invoked, is performed round him. He is then often carried round from village to village.

A few grains of *urad* or *jowār* mixed with a copper coin are passed round the sick man's body and then sent to a Badwa. The Badwa then places over them a leaf of the *Butea frondosa* and floats the whole collection on some water. He then picks out the grains and slowly drops them one by one into the water, saying, *bhūt, deo, dākini*, (witch,) successively. When a grain floats he is thus able to determine which of these evil influences is at work, by the name which fell to the grain which floated. If it is determined to have been caused by a witch, he then repeats the process calling out the names of all the witches known to him. Should no grain float, the sickness is put down to natural causes.

Another process is to take a handful of grain, chips of wood or leaves and throw them away counting each piece or grain as it falls and repeating this process for every known witch until an odd number falls to one of the names; the name so determined is that of the offender.

In 1888 a Kachhi called Rata complained that his mother Issa had been, by order of the Rao of Bhātkheri, mounted on a donkey by a scavenger, beaten and turned out of the village as a witch; had then been made to drink water offered by a *mochi*, and beaten, dying from this treatment. Her body was burned and the complainant's house broken into and Rs. 2,000 taken away. Complainant was away at the time, and on his return was told to leave the village.

Inquiry followed, on which the Rao admitted that Issa had been thus treated because she was a witch, and had caused the death of the wife and son of a rich Bania. Issa was 'named' as a witch and driven out of the village. She, however came back and was seized. It was alleged that on being seized she was said to have asked for a leopard to ride on but as no leopard was forthcoming they put her on the donkey, blackened her face, made her eat from a scavenger's hand and expelled her the place. The Rao stated he himself heard her barking like a dog, and saw her making attempts to bite like one, and that after her expulsion she remained outside Bhātkheri for some days barking and flying at passers by like a dog, till she died,

Religion.¹—They call themselves Hindus, invariably asserting that they are followers of Mahādev. They also reverence Ganesh, called "Sonda-deo" or the god of the trunk, Rām-chandra, Bhairon, Hanumān, Chandra, Sūrya, Prithvī, Shārada (goddess of learning), Kālīka-deri and Jam or Yama. Chindi-māta, represented by coloured rags (*chindī*) is a common deity.

Many minor gods are also worshipped, the most important being Kampawara, his wife Kajal, son Bala-raja and his brother Kud-harana are well known in some parts. Kajal-rānī as she is called is supposed to have introduced *Dasahra*, *Divāñ*, and *Holī*.

Bāba Deo is a generic term for the village tutelary deity. In *Shrāwan* he is specially worshipped. All the village collects at the post marking his abode and offer liquor, grain, and fowls. No *ghī* may be given to outsiders on this day. As a rule each village has its own day in *Shrāwan* for the ceremony.

Powers of nature.—Sun, to whom cocoanuts and *gur* are offered.

The earth (*prithvī*) considered as residing on the head of Sheshnāg, liquor is offered.

Rivers, to which cocoanuts, curds, cloth, and red-lead are offered. This worship is always performed whenever a river is flooded.

Mountains, Air, and Sky; only by invocation. Fire, by offerings of a goat, food, incense, etc.

Godlings.—Village gods are usually of high caste, either Brāhman, Rājput, or Naiks, shewing their derivations from real persons. The Brāhman godling is worshipped with *sindur*, cocoanut, milk, flour, *gur*, and *ghī*; the Rājput with fowls, sheep, and liquor; and the Naiks with cattle. Rāmdao, a village or domestic deity who receives fowls, cocoanuts, etc.

Wagaichakuwar, a woodland and forest deity, to whom fruit, liquor and sheep are offered.

Kachūmar, a grove and mountain god, Hālun dāmar and Nāhār Singh also forest gods similarly worshipped.²

Disease.—*Mari-māta*, the cholera goddess, is worshipped with offerings of cocoanut, cooked grain, porridge, cloth, goats, *bhajiye*, a preparation of gram flour, and a *tikli* (ornamental spangled wafer worn on the forehead). The worship is performed by the Badwa on witch finder

¹ Very little if anything of interest has been elicited here. The Bhils like to believe themselves Hindus, while those who carried out the interrogatories were Hindus. This is perhaps a reason why less has come to light than one would have hoped. See "Census Report of Central India, 1901," Pt. I, 101. It will be seen that 55·7 per cent. returned themselves as Hindus. It is interesting to note also that in the minor states of Gwalior Residency all were registered as Hin la, while in Bhopawar 99 per cent. were so returned.

² See Songs.

who appears to become possessed by the goddess. The articles offered are placed in a broken earthen dish (*thikra*) and carried with drums and shouts to the village border. Here the *thikra* is put down and taken up and carried on by men from the next village.

Sūta-māta.—The small pox goddess is an important personage. To give her full honour the person worshipping must proceed to Gālia-koti, a village in the Dungarpur State.

When a child recovers from an attack, the parents call their relatives together and all go in procession to the nearest shrine. The mother carries a *sigri* of hot cowdung cakes on her head. In front of the party are musicians, in rear the child holding a cocoanut. On reaching the shrine the *sigri* is set before it, and the goddess anointed with red lead. The cocoanut is broken and offerings are made. Sheep are sacrificed, the heads being presented to the goddess and the carcase eaten.

Local gods.—These are very numerous and vary with almost each village. Bhairon is a common form and is offered liquor, goats, cocoanut, grain porridge, and red lead; Khedāpati-Hanumān, who receives grain, cocoanut, and red lead; Chāmunda-māta, given goats or a male or sterile she-buffalo; Kālīka, a sheep; Nāg-deo (the cobra) milk which is put near the snake's hole. Females take, as a rule, no part in worship, except in that of Rāmdeo, and Gaichakuwar. Even here they merely attend and take no active part.

Priests.—Brāhmins are not employed, the *Tarvi* officiating.

Birth.—After a birth, on the 8th day, effigies of the sun and moon are made from wheat flour, and are worshipped. The child is then named, usually after the day of the week as Somlia, Manglia, etc. Often on the 7th day a thread coloured with turmeric is tied round the throat, ankles, and wrists of the infant, a ceremony called *sātia*.

Menses.—A woman during her menses is impure for three days, after bathing on the fourth day she is received back.

Death.—*Funeral ceremonies.*—On the occurrence of death notice is given by firing off guns before the deceased's house, while the village *dholi* sounds his drum.

The beard, hair, etc., is shaved off the corpse in the case of a man; in the case of a woman the hair is dressed as in life.

The corpse is bathed in cold water brought in a new earthen vessel. The corpse is then dressed; in the case of a male in *dhoti*, and *chaddar* of new cloth, in the case of a female in a petticoat (*ghāgra*), *lagra*, and *kāchli*. Where the corpse is that of an unmarried adult some turmeric is thrown on the dress.

A little bread is made of flour freshly ground, care being taken that the hand in grinding always moves from left to right. This is then mixed with *ghī* and *gur* and made into a ball which is tied up in a corner of the corpse's garment. The ball is called *hāmīa*.

A bier (*maṭā* or *tikri*) is then prepared, and covered with grass (*darbhā*, if procurable), and two cocoanuts are hung at the head. The corpse is placed on it with the face upwards and covered with a cloth.

If the corpse is not that of a *Tarvi* or his wife, one pice is placed upon it as the price of the plot on which the cremation takes place. This payment is called *bhoga bhāda*.

The eldest son or a near relative, if there is no son, takes an ignited cake of cowdung in his hand and the corpse is carried to the cremating ground, the man with the ignited cake leading the way.¹

The corpse is always carried so as to lie north and south, the feet pointing to the south. Guns are fired off as the procession proceeds, and drums are sounded.

The deceased's house is meanwhile *liped* with fresh cowdung, and then sprinkled with maize, a small lamp being placed upon the spot where the man died, covered over with a bamboo basket. This lamp is called *diwānia*.

On coming to a *ber* tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*) the corpse is set down, while all the persons present proceed to take up stones with which a heap is made. A piece of cloth is then torn off the dead man's garment and thrown over the tree. The corpse is then picked up again, those formerly at the head going to the feet.

Tradition has it that the rest under the *ber* is made for this reason. Once the son of an aged dame died. The old woman carried his corpse as far as a *ber* tree but could go no further. She then decided to appeal to the gods by fasting, for the restoration of her son's life, and sat for three days fasting beneath the tree. This was not the fruit season, but seeing her piety the gods gave the tree fruit, and also caused hunger to attack her. She could bear her pain no longer and rose to seize the fruit, suddenly the tree grew and raised the fruit beyond her reach. At length she propped the corpse against the tree and standing upon it reached the fruit. She had broken her vow, and the village people approaching took and cremated the corpse. To avert any such evil each corpse is now halted under a *ber* tree, and a piece of the garment is offered to the gods. The earthen vessel in which the water to wash the corpse was held is taken and broken under this tree on the heap of stones.

The man's widow is taken to the tree where her ornaments are taken off.

The corpse is put down near a stream or tank while the pyre (*hela* or *chitā*) is being made.² The fire carrier meanwhile bathes and then approaching sprinkles water on the corpse.

The body is then placed on the pyre with its head to the north, and burnt together with man's bow, club, etc., and in the case of a woman some favourite ornament. The face is uncovered before the fire is applied. A piece of cloth torn off the face is used to wrap up a piece of silver money, some of the balls mentioned and some *darbha* grass. Every person present puts a piece of sandal-wood on the chest of the corpse. The pyre is ignited by the fire carrier, who approaches it backwards so as not to see the pyre, holding his hands behind him. When alight all retire and sit down to watch.

When all is over, the company bathe and then go back the deceased's house. Here liquor is produced for all. Only the men may drink it. Food is then given to all, to the men by male and the women by female relatives.

¹ One informant says that sometimes music, played softly, accompanies the bier.

² When a man is killed in a fight, or by a wild animal far from his village, he is usually cremated on the spot, a form of cremation called "*Rām-dāg*." A stone with the figure of a man on a horse or an elephant, is erected to mark the spot. This is also erected sometimes for men of importance who have died a natural death.

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The *tiya* or 3rd day and *nukta* or 12th day ceremonies are then arranged in accordance with the means of the family. The *nukta* ceremony is postponed if the family is very poor.

The man (or men) who ignited the pyre then remove the basket from over the lamp, see if is burning well and then replace the cover. Some *darbha* grass is scattered round it.

The unconsumed bones are carefully collected from the pyre, and separated from the ashes. The bones are placed in an earthen vessel and buried near the house until the *nukta* ceremony can be performed. When this takes place they are dug up. If there is no chance of their being carried out the bones are thrown into the nearest river, usually the *Narbadā*. The bones must always be thrown into a river before the *nukta* is carried out.

The ashes are thrown into water on the 3rd day. After this the new master examines the flour round the lamp and by the shape of the marks determines what animal the spirit of the dead will next inhabit. If it is like a human footprint a man is his next abode, if like a hoof a horned animal, if like a bird's foot a bird, if like a scorpion or snake one of these animals. The lamp and basket are now thrown away and the spot *liped*.

The deceased is provided with food and drink on the third day, the provisions being placed under the *ber* tree, where the corpse rested. The stones heaped up there are scattered. Those performing this ceremony are then feasted at the deceased's house. It is not considered ill for a mourner to touch any person or thing, but no religious observations other than those of mourning may be performed. On the 11th day small *mandapa* is set up near the house. The relative who ignited the pyre puts on a *janeo* of *kachcha* thread, and proceeds to put a ball (*pind*) of boiled rice without salt under the *mandapa*.

On the 13th day the family shave their heads (*ghāta* ceremony) and faces, if the death was of an adult man or boy.

On the 14th day the *rāwals* come to the house and sing the praises of the deceased. A feast (*nukta*) is given on the 15th day and the *rāwals* are rewarded. The gifts given to the *rāwals* are important as they determine the future comfort of the deceased. *Jamraj* (Yama) comes from the south and carries the soul of the dead man to the north. On the way the soul passes over a thorn strewn plain hence shoes must be included in the *rāwal's* gifts or his spirit suffers severely; he then passes between two heated pillars and the *rāwal's* gifts therefore include, 9 *kathas* of cloth given in the name of the *navagraha*, which protects him from the heat; the spirit then encounters a *bhatyāri*, who offers him hot cooked food, should no dish be included in the gift to the *rāwals*, the food is placed in his hands and unable to bear the heat he lets it fall and continues his journey hungry; he then reaches a river, here if a cow was given to the *rāwals* this animal providentially appears and by holding on its tail he gets across, otherwise he suffers agonies and is half drowned.

On reaching the end of his journey *Jamraj* determines which of three hells (lit. *kunds* or tanks) he is to enter, one being full of nectar, the others of varying degrees of foulness (worms, blood, etc.) until he is born again.

If a child dies before teething, or a man is an ascetic he is buried with his face upwards. When any one dies of small-pox he is buried until the small-pox leaves the village when the corpse is disinterred and burnt.

Burning *ghāts* are situated anywhere near a stream. Mourning always lasts three days even with the poorest, but not often longer owing to its costliness. Only those of the village attend and mourn. A relative in another village does not mourn.

Shrāddha is unknown, no special ceremonies being carried out on anniversaries. A single general ceremony is, however, observed on the *diwālī* succeeding the death. On this day the man who performed the rites takes some rice boiled without salt and goes with some friends to the nearest stream. He then places four small lamps fed with *ghī* on the ground previously sprinkled with the rice. From this day the eyes of the dead are supposed to be open, before that they remain closed,

Those who die a violent death become inimical spirits (*bhūt*), so do *Badwas* or "medicine-men," Others become *Khatris*, who, however, cannot harm human beings but only animals, and others. *Deos* who are beneficent spirits.

Occupation.—The Bhil always states that agriculture is his original occupation, if so he can scarcely be credited with much recollection of it, as even at this day he does but little cultivation even when every endeavour is used to induce him to settle, and he is given land and pecuniary assistance.¹

Tradition has it, however, that the Bhil at his creation was given by Mahādeo a plough, sickle, harrow, and a pair of bullocks, and was promised that if he sowed two *seers* of cereals he should reap two *mānis*.

One answer states: "Some of us, in addition, to our original occupation, commit theft." But this occupation is not to be indulged in rashly, a common proverb running :—

Adkī nī chorī karjē nī pachāh nī thāl ghar men rakhjē.

Before you proceed to steal one pie be sure you have 50 rupees in hand (so as to be able to pay a fine, if caught).

The Bhils make their own agricultural implements. Cows and buffaloes they keep, but do not feed well and they are of a poor class. Ponies are very seldom kept. Dogs are usual in all settlements.

Agricultural System.—Gradually the states are getting the Bhils to settle and become regular cultivators and many now hold leases from the Darbār like ordinary agriculturists, but as a rule on very easy terms; in a few cases in Jhābua occupancy rights are, it is stated, recognised, but not as a rule.

A certain number of Bhils serve in the local Mālwa Bhil Corps, but they do not as a rule come from the wilder sections of the tribe but from those who live in or near Mālwa. Many now-a-days are "line boys" born in the Regiment.

Joint cultivation does not appear to be very popular each household living ordinarily at some distance from the next and cultivating its own plot of land.

Where regular settlements exist the *Tarvi* or headman as a rule contracts for the revenue of the village, making what he can out of the inhabitants. Cultivation is often done by outsiders who are paid with a share of the produce. Sometimes a man agrees to work three days for another, cultivating his own land on the fourth day, a system known as *warkia*. Hindu ideas as to propitious days, etc., have become general, with some modifications, in the observances followed. Thus the day *Akhātīj* is considered the proper time for commencing operations. Before sowing a cultivator sets a stone up at the

1. The Bhil Zamindars and landholders are usually *Tarvis* or headmen. In Barwāni a small local section is known as the *Tarvi* Bhil group.

top of his field and anoints it with red lead breaking a cocoanut over it ; this stone represents Ganesh. Twice or thrice in the rains a solemn worship is held called *jātār*. No work is ever done on the *amāwāsya* day, a proverb running.

Kare amāwas to hoye ghal dhamas.

To work on the *amāwāsya* is to bring destruction on the crops.

The evil eye is averted from crops thus. Two sticks are planted in the ground with a piece of conspicuous coloured cloth tied to them, or heaps of stones are raised and whitewashed. The onlooker's gaze thus falls first on these objects.

After the reaping is completed, the evil spirits are appeased by the offering of a cock and liquor. If this is not done they may, annoyed at the removal of the grain, visit the threshing floor with disaster.

Before a well is sunk a stone is set up and anointed with red lead and propitiated with offerings, the stone standing in this case for the water-deity of the locality.

Most of the Bhil cultivation being done on the indifferent soils of the hilly tract is regulated entirely by the rain fall as it is not possible, as in richer soils, to commence operations before rain has actually fallen in sufficient quantity to moisten the soil thoroughly.

Hindu proverbs relating to the seasons are in common use, but their application refers to the better classes of soil and not in reality to the conditions on the most jungle covered tracts.

Charhe Magha to gahūn na dhaga.

If there is rain under the *Magha nakshatra* the wheat crop will be above the average.

Charhe Uttara to dhān nirawayā kutra.

If it rains under the *Uttara nakshatra* even the dogs will scorn bread (*i. e.*, it will be so plentiful).

Harāwan, i. e., Sāwan naha tiyane jhadar chani bhaji.

If *til* is sown in *Sāwan* the plants will flourish, and yield much blossom and good seed.

Aghan na akra ne Poha na phatra.

Wheat sown in *Aghan* is of full ear, that sown in *Paus* poor.

The form of growth of the seeds of the *Bhabdi* tree are considered an infallible prognostic of the kind of monsoon which is likely to fall, and also the individual crops of rice, maize, and *cheola* are supposed to be good or bad in accordance with the way in which the seeds fill out at different stages. If all parts of this tree's seed are poorly developed and instead of expanding keep stuck closely together, then famine is certain.

Social Characteristics.

A naturally wandering population, except in the case of such few as have taken to cultivation, the Bhils have as a rule no fixed village. A section wanders as a rule within certain limits, seldom leaving the State.

The chief period of movement is from March to April, many finding occupation in reaping the harvests on the uplands of Mālwa, or assisting in the collection of the poppy juice. The Hindu influence is yearly making considerable strides within the Bhil community and the idea of caste is becoming more regularised than it was forty years ago. Patlias and Bhilālas are held to be superior in status to the Bhils, as are also the regular Hindu castes. Rāwals, Gachhas, and Mehtars are considered of a low status,

Character.—The Bhils in villages and more settled parts have lost much of their suspicion of strangers, but in the wilder regions are still very timid. They vacate a village on the least provocation such as sickness, or a rumour of probable harsh treatment.

The wilder Bhils are truthful, the more civilized less so.

They are capable of great endurance. In 1858 some women of the Mālwa Bhil Corps walked over fifty miles without once stopping, most of the way lying through heavy jungle with the rise from the Narbadā to the plains above.

Outsiders, if eligible otherwise, are admitted to the Bhil caste. The man is called before a *panchāyat*. He then prepares a *tīrth* as it is called of cowdung and Ganges (or other holy water), in a dish. This is presented to the *Patel* or *Tarri* presiding. The *Patel* drinks it, and the same ceremony is then performed with the members of the *panchāyat*. Rice boiled in goat's blood is then presented and eaten. A payment of four or five rupees to the *Patel* concludes the ceremony; save for the inevitable carouse which winds up all Bhil ceremonies. Social position is determined by food, admittedly an importation from Hindu ceremonies. Thus the too near approach of a man of the sweeper or Gachha caste to food which is being cooked defiles it. If a man of these castes touches a Bhil's clothes they must be washed.

Balais and Chamārs, "whom" it is naively remarked "we must have about us to do the village work," are allowed to take water from the village well, but not Gachhas or sweepers.

The barber does not shave men of these two castes, nor the *dhobi* wash their clothes.

Panchāyat.—All disputes are settled by *panchāyat*, in important cases composed of men from several villages. When a decision is arrived at the ceremony of *chāk phirna* (or *pīna*) is gone through. Each disputant pours liquor into the other man's palm and they drink calling on Māta Devi to visit them with calamity if they do not abide by the decision, while the chief *panch* calls out loud, that no cause for dispute now remains. The liquor thus offered to Māta Devi is the witness (*chāk*) to the settlement. When a man is of a clan that does not drink liquor or is under a vow not to do so, he puts on a sacred necklace called Bhagat and gets a relative to drink for him, undertaking to be bound by this. My informant naively adds "as yet I have never known any instance of the removal of a quarrel by this ceremony."

Males, females, adults and children all dine off separate dishes.

Water is taken, food *kachcha* and *pakka* and liquor from the hands of all except the castes of sweeper, Gachha or Dholi.

Dress.—The dress of the average Bhil is of the simplest, a small piece of cloth which does duty for a *dhoti* and a whisp round the head constitutes the usual dress of men. A blanket is carried in cold weather. Those better off assume Hindu clothing.

Ornaments are also worn by men mostly of brass, those better off having a few silver trinkets.

Women's dress is usually the same as that of the Hindu women of the district.

Ornaments of brass, white metal or silver are also worn by women. These will be best seen in the photographs attached to this account.

Washing.—They do little washing except where they have come much under Hindu influence.

Time is measured by cock-crows, 1st crow 2-30 A. M., 2nd 3-30, and 3rd 5 A. M.; after that as cocks crow all day they go by the sun (so says my informant).

Janeo.—The sacred string is never worn by Bhils except on the occasion of funeral ceremonies.

Hair.—Men wear the hair long, just touching the shoulders (See Plates).

Women part the hair in the centre, ending the parting in a small pigtail threaded with a piece of coloured wool.

A virgin wears only a *kadā* and *todā* of white metal on her foot and no other ornaments.

Married women may wear all the ornaments in the list below (See Plates).

Bor.—Of white metal or silver, worn on hair just above the forehead.

Rākhdī.—Of brass, tied on to the end of the pigtail, and hanging down the back.

Jhunkā.—Of white metal or silver, worn on the forehead.

Bindī.—Of white metal or silver, worn on each side of the head.

Pāndī.—Of white metal or silver, worn in holes bored in the upper lobes of the ears.

Toti.—Of white metal or silver, worn in holes in the lower lobes of the ears.

Nose-ring.—Silver (or gold), worn in the left nostril.

Tāgī.—Of silver or white metal, worn round the neck.

Beads.—False pearls, black and white beads, etc., on neck.

Sāktī.—Of silver on neck.

Pātlī.—Of white metal, an armlet worn on upper arm, as many as 15 are sometimes worn.

Kadā or Jhela.—Of white metal, one on each arm to keep the *pātlī* in place.

Chudīa.—Of white metal, two are worn, one on each elbow.

Kākan.—Of brass, wristlets, six or seven on each wrist.

Lodīa.—Of brass, eight worn below the *kākans*.

Kadā.—Of brass, worn one on each wrist.

Bitya.—Of copper or bronze, worn on fingers.

Ghughriyāla.—Of copper or brass, worn one on calf of each leg.

Hānkiya.—Of brass, eight worn on each foot.

Kadiya.—Of brass, four worn below the *Hankiyas*.

Paotia.—Of brass, one worn below the *kadiya* on each foot.

Bichhiya.—Of brass or white metal, one on each toe.

Widows—Widows are distinguished by wearing no nose-ring, and two *kadiyas* below the elbows, and *ghughwāla* and *kada* on the legs.

Besides these ornaments various articles are worn as talismans, such as pieces of thread blessed by a priest, metal cylinders containing *Mantras*, and some herbs and roots.

Tattooing.—This operation is generally performed at ten to twelve years of age on girls, on the cheeks, forehead, arm below the elbows, chin and wrists, and the calf of the leg and feet.

Men are tattooed between 8 and 9, on arms, wrists and chests. Men operators tattoo men and women girls.

The object of tattooing is said to be this. After death each individual is asked whether he has been pricked by thorns in the jungle, the presentation of these tattoo marks is considered an affirmative answer, without this they would have to be pricked with thorns in after life.¹

Designs are numerous and are made to the fancy of the person operated on.

Boys, it should be added, are in the habit of burning marks on each other on the back and wrist, in either five or seven distinct places. This is done with a piece of smoldering cloth or the match of a matchlock. The custom is called *dhāmīa* and appears to have the same object as tattooing. Females are never branded in this way.

Names.—The names used differ in no way from those of low caste Hindus.

Men's names are Lālu, Singa, Rūpji, Dhanna, Somla, Manglia, Sakria, Thaoria, Badia, Wasnia, etc., and females, Bajli, Sampli, Thāvri, Warju, Badu, Rūpa, Wali, Ukeri, Kunwari, Jhamku, Ranja, Raja, Kabu, Homli, Mathu, Khetu, Gawara.

A man's professional designation is added to distinguish two of the same name, Lālu Sutār and Lālu Badwa, or Lālu, the carpenter and witchfinder, respectively.

If a man's children have died before reaching manhood he names the next by an opprobrious name, so that the gods may avoid visiting it with their ill-favour, such names are Kidia, "the wormy one," Dhulia, "the earthy," Kachria, "the rubbishy," Sadia, "the putrid," and so on.

Dwelling.—The usual habitation of a Bhil is a mere shed of bamboos and matting thatched with leaves and grass. Those better off, or living a more settled life build huts of a somewhat better class, but still mainly constructed of grass. The ordinary hut consists of a simple frame work, formed of central posts called *mob-khamba*, supporting a ridge pole, smaller posts to which joists from the ridge pole are fastened called *niv-khamba*, the joists being known as *adwāliya*, and horizontal beams called *āgti*, to carry the roofing. (See Plate.)

The *mob-khamba* and *niv-khamba* are made of (*sāj*) teak, or *Dhawa* (*Anogeissus latifolia*) or in small huts of bamboo. The thatch is made of the leaves of *Khākra* (*Butea frondosa*) arranged in threes called *Timnia*, over which grass is laid. Such huts are called *Tapre*.

Food.—The Bhil lives very largely on jungle roots and fruits and such common grains as *jowār*, *āman*, etc. The following are given as ordinary grains, etc., used:—

Chhota dhān.

Sāmli.
Bhudli.
Kuri.
Gujra.
Baotra.
Kodra.
Batti.

Mota dhān.

Makka.
Jowār.

¹ C. E. Luard, *Tattooing in Central India*, *Indian Antiquary*, 1904.

Certain articles are not eaten, *viz.*, monkeys, ducks, tortoises, snakes, lizards, rats, *sāras* (crane), crocodiles, jackals, peacocks, or the leavings of food. But goat, pork, sheep, hares, buffaloes (male and female), deer, nilgais, fish, and fowls are eaten.

Beef is still eaten by some and in famine time by all, but it is represented that this is now considered an evil practice and my informant adds the State "serves the eater according to his deserts."

Guests.—A guest of position when he arrives is seated on a *chārpay* and his bow and arrows are taken from him, while both parties touch hands. This ceremony is not observed in the case of near relations.

Wages in agricultural occupations.—In settlements where cultivation has become a regular occupation wages are paid. Thus a ploughman is given a *māni* of grain, a turban, and a *dhoti* for a year's work, and usually a small piece of land to cultivate for himself. This man does any work required of him when it is not the season for ploughing.

A common system is to pay those employed in the field by a regular share of the produce, usually one maund of grain per *māni* produced. A man so paid is called a *bhāgiya*.

A man is often employed to work three days on an outsider's land and is allowed the fourth day off to work on his own, using the bullocks, etc., of his employer. This enables a poor man to cultivate. The system is called *wārkiya*. Other work is paid in kind, the remuneration being in value about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 annas a day.

Festivals.—It is customary on the *Akhlātīj* day to perform the mock marriage of two wooden dolls. All the ceremonies are carried out, grain being given as *dahej*. As soon as the rains commence the two dolls are thrown into a stream to float away.

These dolls represent the deities who control the rain. During the *Nārātras* some *jowār* is planted in seven small baskets which are then arranged thus, two to the north in the names of Chāmunda-māta and Kachūmar, two to the east in the names of Dharm-rāj and Shārda, one to the south in the name of Rāni Kajla, and 2 to the west in the names of Manora and Devī-māta.

They are sprinkled with water until they germinate. Music and dancing is performed round them. The *Badwas* or witch-finders present on these occasions become possessed and prophecy.

On the *Dasahra* the baskets are carried with music and singing to the nearest stream and floated down it. (See Plate.)

The person at whose house these baskets were prepared is obliged to remain bare-headed from the commencement of the ceremony. After the baskets have been floated down the stream his relatives present him with a turban and he puts it on in sign that all is completed.

On the second day of the *Diwālī* the *Gohari* ceremony is performed. A *Tarvi* gives a piece of *jowār* which has been blessed at a shrine to a cowherd. This man then takes up his position in the road by which the village cattle return, lying across their path on his back. He takes with him the *jowār* and also a live hen. He is, says my informant, "usually inebriated somewhat."

The cows are thus forced to leap over the man as they are driven past. The hen is sure to escape in the confusion. Great efforts are then made to capture it, as it brings good luck to the house in which it remains.

In *Bhādon* the “Nawai” feast in honour of the new harvest, is kept. None of the produce of the new harvest is ever eaten till the ceremony is commenced. At the *Dasahrā*, *Diwāli*, *Holi*, and *Til-sankrānt* festivals, they scatter some food on their roofs as an offering to ancestors. A great fair called *Bhagoria hāt* is held just before the *Holi*. The men put on their best clothes and carrying bows and arrows dance in a circle; no women can take part.

It should be noted that in mixed dances men and women dance in separate circles. [See Plates.]

Music.—The drum is the chief instrument. On this three predominant notes are used, for Joy, Grief, and Fear. For Joy the drum is beaten at both ends, for Grief only at one, the end being previously muffled by rubbing it over with moistened *wrad* flour. In the case of alarm it is beaten at both ends a continuous loud note being emitted while screams often add to the commotion. This note is at once picked up by the next village and in an incredibly short space of time the whole district is aroused, all gradually collecting at the spot where the first alarm was sounded.

Cymbals of brass or pewter and bamboo flutes are also used.

Amusements.—Bow and arrow contests are a common form of recreation.

Boys are allowed to shoot with arrows untipped with steel points.

Dancing and singing form part of all important ceremonies, such as weddings and other festive occasions. A special performance takes place in *Phāgun (Holi)*. A man is blackened with charcoal and dressed in a blanket, and is called *Budleya*, another man dressed as a woman being called *Raiyi*. These two dance while all sing obscene songs, much liquor is drunk and practically all present gradually become inebriated.

Dancing is always performed in two groups, men in one group and women in the other. The movements are rhythmic and in many cases accompanied, by the beat of sticks in time to the somewhat monotonous chant to which the dance is performed. [See Plate.]

Weapons.—The traditional weapon of the *Bhil* is the bow and arrow. Of the latter there are six kinds. [See Plate.]

I. Ghadiyāl.—This is used for shooting at long range. The head is so fixed as to remain behind without the shaft, after it penetrates.

II. Jāmni.—This has a broad head. It does not carry so far, and makes a shallower but wider wound. It is always used on deer.

III. Bhālka.—A heavy arrow used at short range, and even as spear at times. It is used on tiger.

IV. Tavadia.—A sharp pointed arrow with four edges. Not commonly used now being that employed in fights, or on big animals.

V. Kanyāli.—Much like No. II. If it is pulled out it brings the inner parts out with it.

VI. Bitla.—A blunt button headed arrow used by beginners in learning or to shoot small birds.

The wood of the *Dhāman (Grewia vestita)* or bamboo is used for bows while *Khari* wood is used for arrows.



THE PATLIAS.

Introductory.—The Patlias are a jungle tribe met with in the hilly tract of the Vindhyan and Satpurā ranges. They are a grade higher in the social scale than the Bhils and almost on the same footing as Bhilālas. They claim Paramāra Rājput descent. In appearance there is little to distinguish them from Bhilālas.

In the Jhābua State 8,700 were returned in 1901, being 54 per cent. of the total number in the Agency, viz., 14,111.

The few met with in Mālwa only entered these tracts some fifty years back.

Name of caste.—The name Patlia is derived from *bitle* or “polluted” owing to their being out-casted. They never use this appellation, which is considered derogatory, among themselves, always addressing each other as Patel, etc.

Origin.—The tradition connected with the formation of the caste is this :—

Originally the caste being a section of the Paramāra clan dwelt at Abu, but were driven by famine to migrate to Gujarāt and settled at Pāvāgarh in the Pānch-mahāls.

Here one day at the *Navarātri* festival the goddess Kālī joined the women of the clan in chanting *garbhas* (songs) in praise of Devi. The great beauty of the goddess struck a barber who at once rushed off to the chief of Pāvāgarh, Parthi (Prithvi) Singh, and informed him of his find. The Rājā fired by the account hurried to the spot and without beating about the bush at once advanced to the lovely dancer and requested her to become his wife, offering her the rank of *patt-rānī*. The goddess was highly incensed and cursed the Rājā and his people, vanishing as the last words of her curse fell on the Rājā's ears. From this moment misfortune dogged the steps of the clan, a severe famine eventually forcing them to migrate once more. They retreated to Nalwai village in the Dohad district. Here one of the clan driven by hunger killed a *roz* (*nilgai*, *Bos elephas tragocamelos*) which they ate. This act of sacrilege outcasted this section of the clan and they were stigmatised as impure (*bitle*) becoming known ultimately as Patle or Patlia. They were forced to leave Nalwai and took to the hills.

Another tale narrates how, when thus driven into Gujarāt, they accepted food of the Tentiya Rājput clan, of spurious origin, and hence lost caste.

Apart from the legend, there is no doubt that they came originally from Gujarāt as the connection with this district is still kept up, serious caste matters being to this day referred to the Patel of Gāngedi village in Gujarāt.

Subdivision.—The Patlias form a single endogamous group or tribe divided into exogamous septs. It is no easy task to obtain a list of these septs, two persons seldom agreeing in the number or the designations of these subdivisions (See Appendix A to this account).

Outcasting is practised for various offences, such as killing a cow, peacock, etc. In such case an offender has to visit the *Gomti tīrth* in Partābgarh State and do penance.

An examination of the list shews several Rājput appellations with local affixes, as No. 18, 30, 31, etc., of these Nos. 18 to 30 are all Paramāra, a fact which supports the tradition of their origin.

Other names are possibly totemistic but are now explained by fantastic tales, of which the following is a type:—

No. 49 Māwi.—A Patlia, who had been invited to a wedding, arrived a day late for the ceremony, upon which the female relations of the bride (*wewahāns*) present accosted him with “*Ma bite ke shāmīl ni hua.*” “You could not even join your mother and other dead relatives in time (we believe).” From this he obtained the name of Māwi, a corruption of Ma-bite.¹

Marriage.

Groups.—As already noted the tribe forms one endogamous group within which marriage must take place. Marriage cannot take place between any two of the same sept.

A man is restricted from marrying into his mother's sept for three generations, children of uncle's being considered as sisters. In the case of a paternal grandfather's sept the restriction extends to four generations, but in the case of a maternal grandmother it appears to vary between three and four. No man, moreover, can marry two sisters at the same time. Occupation is no bar to marriage unless an unclean trade is followed such as leather working or that of butcher.

The exchange of daughters is not practised,

Adoption.—Adoption is customary, the child taking the new name given by his adopted father. A son is always adopted from a near kinsman, and once adopted is for all purposes the son of his adopted parents.

Age of Marriage.—Marriage is adult, but they state distinctly that their traditions all preserve the fact of infant marriage having been the custom when they lived at Abu and in Gujarāt, the habit of adult marriage being acquired since their residence in the hills.

The ordinary age for marriage lies between 13 and 20 for girls and from 16 onwards for a boy.

No ceremony is performed when a girl reaches puberty, and as marriage is adult and girls are often 16 or 18 when they marry, no disgrace attends the fact that an unmarried girl has attained puberty at her parents' house.

Husbands are easy to procure, and a girl never remains unmarried for this reason.

Cohabitation and marriage are, of course, contemporary.

Adultery.—Intercourse before marriage is not recognised, but when cases occur they are treated with leniency. A girl who becomes pregnant before marriage, if already betrothed, is sent to her fiancé. If he receives her the matter is considered settled, but if he refuses, on the grounds that the child is not his, she is sent to the child's supposed father, and if convicted, he is obliged to repay the girl's fiancé any money which may have already been paid to the girl's father by him. The child is not in such cases outcasted.

Where, however, connection takes place with a man of another caste, if the man is of superior caste the child is admitted to the Patlia caste, if however of lower caste then the child is not admitted as a Patlia.

¹ *E. g.*—He would be late for his own funeral.

Polygamy and Polyandry.—Polygamy is allowable but is not very common, while polyandry is absolutely unknown. Polygamy is usually caused by the barrenness of the first wife.

Hypergamy.—The absolute equality of all the septs makes hypergamy impossible at present within the tribe, and no outsiders will marry with Patlias.

Marriage Ceremonies.

Bhānjgad.—The first ceremony is that of the *Bhānjgad* or mediation. The boy or his parents sends some trusty person to make private inquiries about a girl he has seen. If the friend's information is favourable, a Brāhman is consulted as to the agreement of the horoscopes, and on its being known that the stars are in accordance overtures are made to the bride's parents by some of the boy's friends acting as *Bhānjgadīas* or mediators. The day for the betrothal is then agreed on.

Sagai or betrothal.—The boy's representatives then go to the girl's home and a consultation takes place regarding the *dahej* or bride-price and the *dāpa* or village tax levied by the village in which the ceremony takes place. When all is settled, a day is fixed on which the boy's father or other relative is to bring $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of *gur* for distribution to the bride's people. All then dine at the expense of the girl's father and the meeting breaks up.

Wadāwana or welcoming and gol, i. e., gur bāntna, or distribution of gur.—The boy's father invites some of his relatives and they proceed to the bride's village taking with them the $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of *gur*. On arrival at the village a brother of the bridegroom or near relative takes $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees in cash and $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer of the *gur* and proceeds with three of the party up to the threshold of the bride's house. After a time a brother or other relative of the bride's comes out and seats them. He then enters the house and returns with a lamp lighted with *ghī* and some turmeric, and rice in a dish with which he besmears the foreheads of the bridegroom's party. This is the *Wadawāna* or welcoming. The rupees and *gur* brought are then put into the dish and taken into the house by the bride's brother. The representatives of boy's side then rejoin their party. All representatives of both sides now assemble and after 10 seers of *gur* have been given to the *Tarvi* or headman of the village and 5 to the bride's father, the rest is distributed among the company. This concludes the ceremony and all return home. This is the *gur bāntna* ceremony.

Muhūrta or auspicious moment.—The father of the boy now proceeds to some village where a literate Brāhman is known to reside and gets him to fix auspicious days for the *bāna bethna* or anointing ceremony and the actual wedding day. A small fee is paid him. The *bāna* must always fall on an uneven numbered day between 1 and 9 before the marriage, i. e., on 1, 3, 5, 7, or 9th day before.

Dahej chukāna or payment of the bride-price.—The boy's father takes Rs. 10 (British) and 5 seers of *gur* and goes with his relatives to the girl's father. Here the money is paid over and the *gur* presented. The girl's father is then told of the dates fixed by the Brāhman and asked to commence the ceremony of anointing on the fixed date. This completes the ceremony.

Notra or invitation to attend the wedding and bring gifts.—Each side deputes a person to invite the relatives to the wedding. The person sent carries round some grains of rice coloured with turmeric and informs those interested of the date fixed.

Wāna ceremony or anointing.—This ceremony takes place simultaneously at the homes of bride and bridegroom. On the first day of this ceremony after lamps are lighted a figure of the family goddess is drawn on the wall with turmeric. In front of this a stool (*chauk*) is placed

with a red cloth on it strewn with grains of coloured rice, a cocoanut and a lighted lamp being put alongside it. Seven balls (*pinda*) are then placed in front of the goddess, four being made of maize flour and three of *gur* and wheat flour. The brother or uncle (of the girl or boy as the case may be) then conducts the worship of the goddess. A feast follows after which singing and dancing commence, some Bhils and Gachhas performing music. The men and women dance in two lines, separately. After dancing has begun some time the bridegroom is introduced. He is dressed in new clothes, wears the bridal-garland (*seora*) of flowers round his head, and a silver necklace (*tāgli*), and bracelets (*kadas*), and carries a sheathed sword in his hand. After dancing a few steps to the sound of a drum he takes his seat on a blanket, while the men and women present dance before him. After an hour or more of dancing the bridegroom (or bride) is led before the goddess, makes his obeisance and is then taken and given a bath; next two boys and two girls, all unmarried, rub his body with powdered seeds of the *pawāda* (an esculent and medicinal plant) mixed with oil; when this is complete he is again brought before the goddess and the two girls rub his body with turmeric, singing all the time they are rubbing. No married female may touch him. These ceremonies are repeated on several nights. During the daytime, the bridegroom must remain bareheaded, only putting on his turban and the *seora* after dark.

While the *wāna* is proceeding, a written paper is obtained from the Brāhman giving the auspicious hour for the wedding. This paper is made over to the bride's brother with 4 annas in cash.

Erection of the Mandapa or Pandal, the marriage canopy.—The day being settled both sides proceed to erect the marriage canopy. This is made of four upright poles of *Sālar* wood (*Boswellia serrata*) in the shape of a square, connected at the top by four horizontal poles. This is then covered with leaves of *jāmbu* (*Eugenia jambolana*) and *asā* (*Asoka Jonesii*).

Ukedi puja or worship of the rubbish heap.—This ceremony actually takes place on the last day of the *wāna*, the erection of the *mandapa* taking place while *wāna* is still going on. In the morning the bridegroom, accompanied by females and musicians, goes in procession to the rubbish heap (*ukedi*) of the village and buries in it a piece of cloth containing some anniseed, a betel-nut, and one pice.

Chauri ceremony.—The village potter puts nine earthen pots distributed round the *mandapa*, four in pairs one upon the other, and one single one.

Māmera or present of clothes.—A present of garments is made to the bridegroom's mother, of a complete set of clothing. This is brought to her by the chief guests on the bridegroom's side. On the arrival of these persons the bridegroom's mother comes out and receives them on the doorstep, making a *tika* on their heads with turmeric, and waving a lighted lamp before them. She then leads them up to the *mandapa* and there receives the garments from their hands.

The barāt or marriage procession.—In the morning fixed for the wedding a feast is given to the guests, after which the bridegroom dressed in all his finery is taken to the *mandapa* where a lighted lamp is waved before him, and his mother makes a *tika* on his forehead, while his father presents the aunts and sisters of the bridegroom with new head-coverings (*orhni*). The procession then starts with music, and matchlock firing from time to time. On reaching the boundary of the bride's village the procession halts and a general throwing about of red powder (*gulāl*) takes place. In the evening the procession goes on up to the door of the bride's house.

Here one of the party takes the groom on his shoulders and approaches the door so that he can strike the marriage *toran* with his sword. He, after touching the *toran*, dismounts and goes to the *mandapa* where he sits down on a stool. A female relative of the bride then approaches to welcome him and is given four annas by the bridegroom. The nearest of kin to the bride now approaches and makes a *tika* upon his forehead, while the clothes and ornaments brought for the bride are made over to the officiating Brāhman who takes them to the bride. When she is ready she is brought up to the *mandapa*, and seated beside the boy. The Brāhman approaching knots together the *dupatta* of the boy with the *orhni* of the girl, not directly but connecting them with an old turban of the bridegroom's. This is called *chheda gāthan*. At the same time a string on which a *mindal* fruit is threaded is strung on the right wrist of each. Then the paper on which the auspicious hour for the wedding has been noted is put into the right hand of the girl and her hand placed in that of the boy (*hāthi weda jorna*.)

The Brāhman then lights a fire before them and prepares *kūhār* or *kānsār*, a dish of wheat mixed with *gur*, in an earthen jar. The fire is then circumambulated, four times to the right, the boy leading the way, and three times to the left, the bride leading. The dowry arranged on is then paid by the bride's father. It is in fact merely a present to the daughter as no price is paid to obtain husbands.

The *kānsār* prepared as mentioned above by the officiating Brāhman is then eaten. It is brought in a brass dish, and *ghī* poured over it by the bride's mother. The pair are screened with a *saleti* or *screen* held by two men, one from either side; the bride's mother then approaches and puts small quantity of the *kānsār* into the mouth of each. The rest of the *kānsār* is removed and after the bridegroom's return home is buried in the *ukedi*.

The pair now proceed in procession to the family goddess to whom they make an obeisance, continuing their way to the *ukedi* where the buried cloth is sought for by the pair four times. The one who finds it most often being much applauded as likely to rule the house. The contents are made over to the musicians.

The knot made in the garments of the pair is now undone, and the *mor* or paper crown worn by the bridegroom is taken off and removed to the bride's house.

A feast follows either provided by the two fathers together or by the bridegroom's father only. This meal is called *baroti*. The bride then goes to her mother to be re-dressed, while the two fathers settle the customary payments, *viz*:—

				Rs.	A.	P.
1.	To the Darbār	...	...	...	1	4 0
2.	To the <i>Tarvi</i> or headman of the bride's village	...	...	...	6	0 0
3.	To the bride's father	...	...	...	1	2 0
4.	To the Brāhman of the family	...	...	...	5	0 0
5.	To the officiating Brāhman	...	...	...	0	8 0
6.	To the <i>Parot</i> or low class local priest	...	...	...	2	8 0
7.	To others	...	...	...	0	12 0
TOTAL				...	17	2 0

This is paid by the bridegroom's father at the bride's village.

A presentation is then made to the bride's mother by four men of the groom's party, consisting of a *chunri* or head-piece and a *kānchlī* or bodice. The bride's mother waves a lighted lamp over them, marks the *tika* on their foreheads and gives them four annas, accepting the offering. This is called *parda chadhāna*.

The *Notra* or making of presents is then carried out, brass dish is placed by each side before the bride and bridegroom, containing some coloured grains of rice, and beside them a lighted lamp. The relations of the bride then come forward and place a small sum in the dishes according to their position, at the same time making a *tika* mark with the rice on the recipient of the money; the bridegroom's people do the same with him.

Conclusion.—The departure of the pair then takes place. The *mor* is once more bound on the groom's head and the pair again seat themselves in the canopy. Four balls of wheat flour are placed in a cloth and hung over the couple, and water poured into them by four men. The pair then leave the canopy placing as they leave some rice in a winnowing fan in the canopy. They then depart for the bridegroom's village accompanied by music and singing. On arrival all present are given liquor to drink.

The couple then enter the house and first worship the family goddess offering her rice and pulse boiled together (*khichri*) eating some themselves. Then after a visit to the *ukedi* they take their seat under the *mandapa* and loosen the *mindal* fruit bracelets from their wrists.

Return of bride.—The bride then returns to her own home with such of her relatives who have come with her. Two days later, her husband comes with some of his party and fetches her.

Expenses.—The total cost in average cases is said to be as below:—

					Rs.	A.	P.
For the bride's family :—							
1.	Ornaments for bride	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
2.	Brass pots (utensils)	...	...	...	...	1	4 0
3.	Clothes	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
4.	Feasts	...	...	...	...	50	0 0
5.	Ghi, 1½ maund	...	...	...	...	15	0 0
6.	Ornaments (<i>welada</i> , etc.)	...	...	...	...	5	0 0
7.	Cow given as present by father	...	...	...	...	15	0 0
8.	Musicians	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
9.	Potter for earthen vessels	...	...	...	...	1	8 0
10.	Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	3	4 0
						100	0 0
For bridegroom :—							
1.	Marriage cess to State	...	...	...	...	17	2 0
2.	Bride-price (to her father)	...	...	...	...	14	4 0
3.	<i>Gur</i> for betrothal, etc.	...	...	...	...	16	0 0
4.	Food	...	...	...	...	68	0 0
Carried over					...	115	6 0

(47)

					Rs.	A.	P.
	Brought forward	...	...	...	...	115	6 0
5. <i>Ghi</i> , 1½ maund	...	...	...	...	...	18	0 0
6. Ornaments (silver <i>tāgli</i> 30), (nose-ring gold 30)	...	...	...	...	...	60	0 0
7. Liquor	...	...	...	...	...	5	0 0
8. Dress for bridegroom	...	...	...	...	...	10	0 0
9. Shoes for both	...	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
10. Musicians	...	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
11. Potter's charges (½ by each side)	...	...	...	...	...	1	8 0
12. Sundries	...	...	...	...	...	2	2 0
Total					...	218	0 0

Other Forms of Marriage.

The Ghar-jamai.—It is not uncommon for a man to work for his bride acting as the servant of his father-in-law. Seven years is the usual period. No payment is made for the bride in this case. After seven years the couple are given a separate house and means to cultivate, whereas, up to then clothing and food only are given them.

If no child is born after twelve months from their taking up a separate residence, the usual marriage ceremony is performed at the expense of the girl's father, costing about Rs. 75 only, however.

If the couple elope before the seven years complete, the man has to pay a bride-price of Rs. 14-4 (the regulation sum) less Rs. 2 for every complete year of service ; no other dues are paid.

Abduction.—This is not an uncommon way of obtaining a wife especially when the girl is betrothed to a man she does not like. The abductor in such case has to pay whatever the *panchāyat* decides. Ordinarily this amounts to about Rs. 30, *viz.*, Rs. 10 as bride-price, Rs. 13 in fees, and Rs. 7 to the members of the *panchāyat*. No ceremony is performed.

Elopement.—A girl not uncommonly goes off with the man of her choice. No ceremonies are then performed, but the man has to pay the girl's father whatever the *panches* decide, usually about Rs. 60, *viz.*, Rs. 27 as bride-price, Rs. 13 in fees, and Rs. 20 to the *panches*.

Widow Re-marriage, Natra.—The re-marriage of widows is practised. She is not, however, allowed to marry any of her late husband's brothers.

The usual prohibitions hold in the case of such re-marriages. Mediators are sent in the usual way and the widow then fixes a day for a personal interview with the man. If after the interview they agree, the mediators receive Rs. 2 which they proceed to make over to the widow's brother for the purchase of ornaments ; at the same time the day is fixed. The man on the day agreed to, takes three men who have married widows with him, and goes to the widow's home bearing as presents some clothes, a gold nose-ring and a silver necklace (*tāgli*). He times his arrival so as to reach the house at nightfall.

Here the widow's brother has already invited such men of his acquaintance as have married widows. They feast on *kichri* prepared by the widow, over which *ghī* has been poured. After the dinner the amount of Rs. 8-4 is paid to the brother of the widow as marriage fee and the clothes and ornaments are presented. The widow puts on the clothes and ornaments and starts off with her husband. A sum of Rs. 2 is given to those assembled to spend on liquor.

Those assisting at a *Nātra* must assist at three such ceremonies or else it is believed that evil will befall them.

The costs of a *Nātra* are:—

					Rs.	A.	P.
1. Fee paid	...	...	...	...	8	4	0
2. Clothes	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
3. Feasts	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
4. Silver <i>tāgli</i>	...	...	...	...	31	0	0
5. Nose-ring (gold)	...	...	...	...	31	0	0
6. Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
TOTAL					75	0	0

The widow's family pay nothing.

In case of a second re-marriage no ceremonies are carried out or payments made, the husband simply taking her to live with him.

Divorce.—Divorce of a wife is possible for adultery. The husband calls the *panchāyat* together and tearing off a piece of his turban presents it to the woman in their presence, detailing his accusations. He pays Rs. 12 (British) for the dinner expenses (*khai-ki*) of the *panchāyat*. The woman takes the piece of turban and goes to her parents' home. She can re-marry if she desires, except her husband that was.

Any marriage she contracts is made by an abbreviated ceremony called *Uddad*.

The man concerned calls his friends together and gives them a feast of rice and *dāl* and taking with them Rs. 25 as bride-price, ornaments worth Rs. 60 and clothes worth Rs. 3, they all go to the woman's home. Here the cash and other things are made over, and when all have dined the pair go to the husband's house, the husband leaving Rs. 2 to the guests for a drink.

The expenses are :—

					Rs.	A.	P.
1. Bride-price	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
2. Ornaments	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
3. Clothes	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
4. Liquor	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
TOTAL					90	0	0

Of the Rs. 25 the father of the woman keeps Rs. 14-4, the usual bride-price, and makes over Rs. 10-12 to the village *panchāyat*.

If in any case the ceremony is only partially completed, if the break is due to the girl the bride-price is refunded, if due to the appearance of a new and more favoured suitor, the new suitor has to refund to the original fiancé any expenses incurred by him. Should the father break it off at the last moment he has to refund all expenses incurred.

Adultery in the case of a widow is condoned by a fine of Rs. 25.

Inheritance.—All ancestral property is divided equally between the sons. In the case of a joint family, even where one individual is a larger contributor, the total earnings or belongings are held to belong equally to all.

In the case of a hereditary *Patel* or *Tarvi* the son (if any), best qualified, becomes *patel* and receives the customary dues, and also any *ināmi* land which belongs to the *petelship*; these things are not considered common property.

A widow with no male heir is sole mistress of the property which passes on her death to the nearest of kin. In cases where she has a son, who is living apart from disagreement, the widow is held to be a son for the purposes of inheritance and gets an equal share with her son or sons.

Daughters have no rights of inheritance.

Where there is no next of kin the property passes either to the *Darbār* or the *panches* of the village.

Oaths.—The oaths taken in cases of dispute are the same as those of the *Bhils* (see *Bhils*) except that the oath of *Rundmund* is not taken. The shrine of *Onkareshwar* on the *Narbadā* is often sworn by.

Omens, Charms, etc.—The omens followed are also the same, as regards the lapwing, the sporting of sparrows in the dust, croaking of frogs, and winnowing fan, as those described under *Bhils*.

The charms used are also the same.

The telling of omens and the practice of charms are carried out by the *Badwas*, the tribal priests, who are more of the class of the African “medicine-man” or witch-finder. They become “possessed” under favourable conditions and foretell the future; the exercising of deities of disease is one of their special functions.

In the case of cholera the *ragta* procession or procession of health is practised. The *Badwas* are called in and all collect at a central spot in the village. After a time they become “possessed” and heave and sway about and commence to chant songs in praise of the goddess continuing to sing throughout the night. Early in the morning they take some parched gram and some balls of dried gram flour (*bhaja*) and a thread of many colours (*nāda*), a *tiki* (the piece of tinsel worn on the forehead by women) and some boiled wheat (*bākhla*) and the head of the freshly killed cock. These are placed in a *thikra* or earthen jar broken into two halves.

Some liquor is poured over these objects and they are placed in a small wooden toy cart. This is dragged to the border of the village, the *Badwas* following dancing and twisting and heaving under the influence of the goddess. At the border the cart is taken by men from the next village and similarly passed on to the next.

When dysentery becomes epidemic, another process is followed called *totka*. Every case has an inverted earthen jar full of burning cowdung cakes placed on a brass dish put below the patient's bed.

In the case of an ailing child the mother makes a leaf dish (*pattal*) and in it puts a few hairs from her own head, some salt and chillis, and a small lamp of flour. Cowdung cakes sometimes take the place of the *pattal*. This dish is then carried up to the sick child and passed down seven times over it from the head to the feet; it is then taken at once out of the house and put down in a spot where three thorough-fares meet.

Another cure consists in placing the hair, salt and chillis with some wheat in the fold of her head-dress (*lagra*) passing this over the child.

Another method is to make two dolls of coloured cloth, swing these above the child and then cast them into a running stream.

When a child suffers from the evil eye, an earthen pot is made red hot and put into a dish half full of water, mouth downwards, the bubbling and steaming which ensues carries off the evil effects.

Religion.—They worship the Hindu deities but in particular Kālīka Devi. This is thus accounted for. At Abu they were special worshippers at her shrine and they believe that it was through her that the Ponwār (*i. e.*, Paramāra) Marāthas got Dhār.

The minor deities are identical with those given under Bhils, but they have two warrior gods, Nāhar Singh and Makna Paramāra who are much revered. They were certainly former leaders of the tribe.

Priests.—Brāhmins are employed in all important ceremonies.

Death and Funeral Ceremonies.—When a death occurs the relatives purchase new clothes for the dead, and then proceeding outside the house of the deceased, fire off their matchlocks to intimate that a death has occurred and that the funeral is about to commence. The corpse is washed and clothed in the new garments, and covered with a cloth at each of the four corners of which a ball made of flour mixed with *ghā* has been tied; they are called *kular* balls.

The corpse is then placed on a bier decorated with cocoanut and coloured thread (*nāda*), and strewn, if possible, with *darbh* grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*), called *kāśda* locally.

The head of the corpse is raised, the whole being covered by a cloth. A son or some other near relative then takes a cake of burning cowdung in his hand, and slings over his back, tied in a fold of his *pichhori*, a metal dish containing some rice grains; as he goes along he scatters the rice,

Behind him comes the bier and in rear the followers. If it is a married man who has died his wife leads the females, carrying in her hand the earthen vessel in which the water for washing the corpse was held. If the deceased is a woman some relative carries this vessel.

After they have proceeded half way to the burning ground, the bier is put down and a piece of the covering is torn off and if a tree is near thrown over it, otherwise a piece of dead wood is brought and made to do duty for a tree. A pile of stones is then made at the spot. The woman or wife then dashes the earthen vessel on to the stones so as to break it. The carriers then change places, those in front going behind.

Meanwhile the female relatives and friends of the deceased go to the nearest stream and wash their clothes, at the same time taking the *lac* bangles formerly worn by the deceased's wife and breaking them up. They then return to the widow's house and clean and sweep it out *tiping* the place where the corpse lay.

The corpse on arrival at the burning ground is put down near water while the pyre is got ready. The son or relative who led the procession and three others then bathe and bring some water and sprinkle it over the corpse, such water being considered as Ganges water. The leader and his three friends then circumambulate the pyre four times from north to west, south and east. The corpse is then placed on the pyre, with its feet to the south and head to the north. If the deceased was in good circumstances some of his silver ornaments are burned with him; no gold ornament is

ever burned. A rupee, some *darbh* grass and a piece of one of the balls of flour and *ghī* are put in the mouth of the dead.

Each person present now approaches and lays a small piece of sandal and *pipal* wood on the pyre. Two of the four men mentioned then station themselves at the head and feet of the corpse, and circumambulate the pyre once with their hands behind their backs. On reaching their original places they simultaneously fire the pile. The bier is then broken up and thrown away, the cocoanut from it broken in half, one half being put into the fire and the other into the metal dish in which the grains of rice were carried. This dish is then tied up in half the pall and slung from a tree, to be removed later on by the village Gachha or bamboo worker.

All then bathe and wash their clothes after which they return to the house. Here they are fed on maize and *dāl*, a dinner known at *kadwe-ka-khāna*.

The ashes from the hearth of the deceased's home are then brought in and sifted on the spot where he lay dead. A lamp fed with *ghī*, and three leaf dishes (*donas*) being put beside it, containing milk, water and eatables. Over all a basket is inverted. This ends the first day's ceremonies.

On the morning of the second day the basket is removed and the shape taken by the ashes is carefully noted to see if the soul of the departed has visited the ashes during the night and drunk and eaten of the fare provided. The ashes are then removed and thrown away, the spot being *līped*.

The relatives of the deceased then proceed to the burning ground taking with them some milk in a piece of hollow bamboo, some cow's urine in another piece, some *khichri* and a few thin maize cakes (called *sunwāri*). On reaching the pyre the fire, if still burning, is extinguished with water and the ashes are committed to the stream, while the unconsumed bones are carefully collected in an earthen jar; such pieces of bone are called *phāl*.

The spot where the pyre was is then brushed clean by the man who carried the fire (usually son of deceased) and one other relative, in this wise. They bathe and then take two branches of *aonla* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), seating themselves back to back, so as not to see one another, on the east and west sides of the spot where the corpse was burned. They then brush behind their backs over the spot and clear the ground. This completed, they fetch the milk and urine and sprinkle it over the place, putting an earthen vessel with water on the spot covering its mouth with a leaf of *khākra* (*Butea frondosa*), and laying five others round it. On these six leaves a little of the *khichri* is placed and one of the maize cakes. A man then removes the jar, breaks a hole in it with his fist and replaces it covered as before. The water thus runs gradually out.

All then leave and proceed to the stream to bathe, and return to the house. Here it is decided if the *Nukta* ceremony or funeral feast is to be held. This is often postponed or even omitted when those concerned are very poor. If it is determined to hold it the following ceremonies are observed, otherwise the proceedings terminate here, except that the pieces of unburned bones are thrown into the *Narbada*.

The son who carried the fire takes a *lota* of water and a tooth-stick (*dātun*) and places them on the cremation ground. He then climbs on to the house ridge and fastens a basket containing a leaf dish (*dona*) of rice or maize boiled with milk, another with *dāl* and another with water. This is known as *girās dālna* or "placing a snack" for the spirit of the dead. A feast is now given to the

relatives called *khāndia karna*. The placing of the food and the tooth-stick, etc., is necessary as the spirit of the dead wanders till the nineteenth day of the ceremonies is reached, and requires these material comforts.

Ceremonies from 3rd to 9th day.—No further ceremonies are observed except the placing of fresh food and a new tooth-stick, until the tenth day.

The 10th to 12th day.—On the morning of the tenth day the relatives are invited to attend the *nuṭa* or funeral feast. The men proceed to a stream with a Brāhman and a barber, while the women bathe and return to the house which they sweep up and *līp* afresh.

The men of the deceased's sept are then shaved by the barber, only the tuft or *choti* being left, known as the *Kāṭaria* ceremony.

The dead man's son then bathes and puts on a new *pañchia* or *dhoti* of five "hands" long. The Brāhman then puts a *tika* on his forehead and throws a *janeo* of three threads of raw cotton over his left shoulder. The man so prepared then makes ten balls of barley flour and places them on some *darbh* grass, while the Brāhman recites *mantras*. The Brāhman then goes through the *tarpan* ceremony of offering water to the names of the dead man's ancestors. The son then breaks up the ten balls and makes them into four, the *tarpan* being repeated.

The son then bathes and returns home, but before doing so he lights a lamp fed with *ghī* and places it by the stream. On reaching the house he renews the food, tooth-stick, etc., and then gives a dinner to those assembled. This concludes the tenth day.

On the morning of the eleventh day the relatives assemble at the house of the *Kāṭiya* and pay him Re. 1 in cash and 10 seers of food and $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of *ghī*. The *Kāṭiya* then goes to the burial ground and repeats the obsequial ceremonies of the tenth day, making twenty instead of ten balls. These balls are afterwards thrown into the water. A wooden stool is then placed near the stream by the *Kāṭiya* and covered with a piece of red cloth measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ hand long, on which he sprinkles rice. A cocoanut, a pot of water and four copper pice are placed on the cloth and a lamp fed with *ghī* put alongside. The *Kāṭiya* recites *mantras* while the son circumambulates the stool four times wearing wet garments. The son then bathes and puts on fresh clothes. After the preparation and eating of *kulār* (wheat flour mixed with *ghī* and *gur*) all return home. In the evening the son and his relatives place water in twenty-four new earthen vessels within the freshly *līped* house of the deceased. The Brāhman puts a blessed thread round the neck of each. The son then lights a *ghī* lamp which he places beside the jars, performing the *tarpan* worship as before. The water jars are then worshipped after which the son climbs up and removes the basket of food from the ridge pole of the house and throws it away over his back. Two of the relatives proceed to the cremation ground in the meantime and clear the spot and *līp* it placing fresh food and a *ghī* lamp there.

All are then given a feast, a small portion of the food being placed outside on the roof itself. All after dinner return home.

On the twelfth day the son of the deceased brings a new earthen jar full of water which is put down in a spot previously *līped* for the purpose, wearing the *pañchia* and *janeo*.

The Brāhman places a sacred thread round the neck of the jar fastening it to the rafters of the house with some *darbh* grass hanging beside it. The son then puts a cocoanut on the mouth of the

jar and a lighted *ghī* lamp on a wooden stool beside it. He then performs the *tarpan* ceremony under the Brāhman's directions. The near relatives then make the son a present of a *dhōti* or turban, while all the guests place small sums of money on the stool, called *notra dālṇa* or giving of gifts of condolence. The ceremonies conclude with the throwing of some maize or rice mixed with *ghī* on to the roof and the distribution of the twenty-four jars among the guests.

If the family religious preceptor (*guru*) is present he receives certain fees on the occasion of funerals, *viz.*, a cow, brass *thāli* (dish), *chārpai* (bedstead), quilt (*godra*), turban, *dhōti*, pair of shoes, 2½ rupees, and 2½ maunds of grain. The officiating Brāhman gets 8 annas cash and 10 seers of grain and ½ seer of *ghī*, the barber gets 8 annas, 10 seers of rice and pulse, ½ seer *ghī*, one seer of salt and one of chillis.

The reasons for giving a cow, shoes, etc., to the *guru* are the same as those mentioned in the giving of gifts to the *Rāwals* in the Bhil account.

Burial.—In the case of ascetics, lepers, those dying of smallpox and infants who have not cut their teeth, burial is resorted to and not cremation.

Cremation Grounds.—These are placed anywhere but always by water, if possible by a stream into which the ashes can be thrown.

Propitiation of Ancestors.—No special propitiatory ceremonies for childless ancestors, or those who have died violent deaths, are carried out. *Shrāddh* is not performed and a new wife does not propitiate the spirit of a departed predecessor.

Occupation.—Agriculture was their original occupation and this they still consider as their emans of livelihood.

A few have been known to take service in the Malwa Bhil Corps. A man who has held non-commissioned rank in the Corps does not thereby increase his social status.

Agricultural Customs.—The Patlias are prone to wander and cultivate only to a small extent, the conditions of work being the same as those described under Bhils.

On the *Akhā-tīj* (3rd *Vaishakh* *badī*) the men prepare the new ropes required for the plough. A curious prognostication is made at this time. The ropes are formed of three strands, two being first combined and then a third added. If when the third is added it exactly fits or the two are longer than the added third strand, then the season will be a good one for that particular man, but if the two are shorter and a piece of the third strand remains over, it will be bad. This rope is called the *dorda*.

On this day also five small heaps of *jowār* stalks are made on the field and burnt, and five baskets full of manure are emptied over it, no more and no less must be used.

Operations begin when the soil is sufficiently moist, but on certain days no work may be done, *viz.*,

On *Divāsa* or *Shrāwan* *badī* *Amāwāsya*.

„ *Rākhi* or *shrāwan* *sudī* *Purnima*.

„ *Pithora* or *Bhādon* *badī* *Amāwāsya*.

„ *Kālichaudas* or *Kārtik* *badī* 14.

„ *Diwāli* or *Kārtik* *badī* *Amāwāsya*.

„ *Gori* or *Kārtik* *sudī* 1.

The evil eye is protected against by piling small heaps of stones in fields and whitewashing them.

Evil spirits are driven away by vowing to offer a cock as sacrifice if all goes well at the harvest. The cock when killed is eaten by the farmer.

Various sayings are current, such as—

Warhe Maghā to gahūn na dhagā.

If rain falls under the *Maghā nakshatra*, the wheat crop will be plentiful.

Aghan nā ankrā ne Pohanā pātrā.

Wheat sown in *Aghan* will be full eared, that sown in *Paush* small.

Harāwan nā Hatiyā ne Bhādarwāni bhāji.

Til sown in *Sāwan* (*Harawan*) gives good grain, but if sown in *Bhādon* the plants are useful only as a vegetable.

Warhe Uttarā to dhān ne khāya kātra.

If rain falls under the *Uttarā nakshatra* the outturn will be so plentiful that not even the dogs will thank you for a gift of grain.

Wāwe Kāti to bāndhe hāthi.

Poppy sown in *Kārtik* gives such a yield that its grower will be able to afford an elephant.

Wāwe Aghan to khele Phāgun.

With poppy sown in *Aghan* the grower will sport in *Phāgun* (at the *Holi*).

Wāwe Pos to kire hos.

He who sows poppy in *Paush* will always be anxious (*i. e.*, *Paush* is too late to sow poppy).

Wāwe Māha to doblā lai ne nāha.

He who sows poppy in *Māgh* must flee with his bullocks (*lai*) (*i. e.*, poppy cannot thrive then).

Prognostications.—When the heads of maize are of the red colour of *pipāl* seeds, in *Vaisākḥ* and *Jeth*, and fall the moment they are ripe, a famine is imminent, and if used as seed will give a poor crop of grey coloured maize.

When the *Semal* (*Bombax malabaricum*) flowers freely and bears well filled seeds it is believed that the crop of *urad* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) will be good. This omen (*alān*) is observed in *Phāgun*.

A year in which the *Kadi* tree bears seed plentifully (these seed vessels are called *dodas*), the wheat crop will be good.

When the pods of *Khākra* (*Butea frondosa*) are plentiful and hang long, the rice crop will be good. This is observed in *Phāgun*.

When the pods on the *Kantara* tree are numerous, the crop of *Chaulas* (*chavala*, *Dolichos sinensis*) will be excellent. Also a *Phāgun* omen.

Good fruit on the *phephri* (*pīpal*, *Ficus religiosa*), which does not fall early before it is quite ripe, predicts that all the *Chhota dhān* or minor grains such as *kodon*, *kutki*, *bājra*, etc., will be good.

A numerous yield of pods on the *Tinack* (*Ougeiia dalbergioides*) means a good outturn of *K. pitha*.

Similarly a good gram crop is predicted by a large number of seeds on the teak, the seeds ripening fully before falling. This omen is noted in *Bhādon*.

If the leaves of the *Kalam* tree are eaten by insects, the wheat crop will be a fine one, but the reverse if the leaves are not eaten. This is also a *Bhādon* omen.

Dress and Ornament.

MALES.

Clothes.—These consist of a turban, *pichhori*, *langoti*, *dhoti*, and *madliā*.

Ornaments.—*Murkhi*, of gold or silver, is an ear-ring worn in the usual place ; *Chhel-kadi*, of silver or brass, an ear-ring worn on the top of the ear ; *Kada*, of silver, a bracelet one on each wrist ; ring of white metal worn on little finger ; *Kandora*, silver, a belt or chain only worn on festive occasions and by the well-to-do.

FEMALES.

Clothes.—*Ghāgra* (petticoat) ; *Lugra* (head-covering) ; *Kānchli* (bodice).

Ornaments.—*Bor*, silver worn on the hair on the parting ; *Bindi*, silver or white metal, worn on either side of forehead, a sort of chain ; *Panadi*, silver, worn in the upper part of each ear ; *Nose-ring* of gold ; *Toti*, silver or white metal, one in the bottom lobe of each ear ; *Tāgli*, silver, necklace ; *Sākli*, a chain of silver round neck ; *Pātada*, white metal, round upper arm ; *Kada*, lac bangles ; *Jhela*, white metal, on each arm just below elbow ; *Gujri*, white metal, on each wrist ; *Bhoria*, white metal, on each wrist ; *Bichhia*, brass toe-rings ; other rings on fingers of brass or silver ; anklets of white metal, one on each foot. Hair is parted down the centre. Unmarried girls wear the same ornaments as named except the *Pālli*, *Gujri* and *Bichhia*. Widows wear no nose-ring, *bor*, lac bangles, *Pātada*, *Kadas* on the feet or *Bichhias*.

Janeo.—No one wears the *janeo* save as noted in the funeral ceremony.

Tattooing.—Is done as with Bhils but is not so common.

Food.—The ordinary dietary consists of the smaller and cheaper grains such as *sāmlī*, *kodra*, *kuri*, *bājra*, *baota*, *bhādli* and *gujara*. The more expensive grains such as wheat, barley, and maize are luxuries. These common grains are made into a kind of bread, and eaten with *urad*, *mūng*, *chavala*, rice and rarely gram.

Meat is also eaten including mutton, goat, pig, hare, deer, fish and fowl. Monkeys, ducks, tortoises, snakes, lizards, buffaloes, beef, rats, *nilgai*, cranes, crocodiles, and peacock are never eaten. Beef has been eaten occasionally but the person eating it has to atone for it before he is received back into the community.

Adults, women and children feed from separate dishes. *Pakkī* is accepted from all but Gachhas, Bhangis and Balais ; *kachchi* and water from all superior Hindu castes.

Articles touched by a Gachha may be handled after some water has been sprinkled over them.

Patlis are allowed to use the village well but do not employ the Dhobi, but are shaved by the barber.



Nomenclature.—The names are similar to those of low caste Hindus, for men Rāma, Wala, Kuwaria, Dalla, Gallia; for women, Wasni, Rupli, Kukli, Jhampli, Dādi, Pemli, etc.

Amusements.—Dancing, singing, and a good deal of liquor drinking are their chief recreations.

They appear to join in Bhil games to a certain extent. The recitation of past glories of the tribe is done by their special Bhāt who comes over from Gujarāt yearly. He will not feed with them or take food prepared by them.

Nicknames.—One regular institution is the conferring of nicknames by the *wewahāns* or female relations at a marriage, indeed the sept names are now supposed to have been all conferred in the past by the *wewahāns* at marriages, except the five Rājput septs, Parmār, Solanki, Rāthor, Chauhān, and Goil.

Social Status.—Chamārs, Bhils, Mānkars, Balais and sweepers are held to be of lower caste.

Language.—Mālvi, Gujarātī, and Bhili.

APPENDIX A.
The Patlia Septs.

Number.	Name English.	Hindī.	Story of origin.	Remarks.
1	Katāra	कटारा	Named after the dagger or <i>katār</i> .	
2	Khaped	खपेड	No explanation.	
3	Gehlor	गेहलोर	Local : from Gehlor village of Baria.	
4	Gohari	गोहरी	After founder of sept called Gohri.	
5	Bedia Chauhān	बेडिया चौहान	Of Chauhān descent : called Bedia from the fact of all members wearing a silver anklet (<i>bedi</i>).	
6	Nalwāya	नलवाया	Local : called after Nalwai village in Dohad district.	
7	Baodia Chauhān	बौडिया चौहान	Local : Chauhāns from Baodi village in Kanas <i>taluk</i> of Jhābua.	
8	Palia Chauhān	पलिया चौहान	No explanation.	
9	Sangod	संगोद	Ditto.	
10	Bāmnia	बामनिया	Corruption of Brāhman.	
11	Dhund	ढुंड	Offshoot of No. 10, said to derive its name from ancestor much addicted to opium, whence he became <i>dhund</i> or senseless.	
12	Jhernia	भेरनिया	Of Rāthor descent : named after the village of Jhīran in Ali-Rājpur State.	
13	Rojda	रोजडा	Of Rāthor descent : called after Rojan village in Dohad district.	
14	Chopda	चोपडा	Descended from Bāmnia Bhilālas.	
15	Dāmor or Dāmar	डामोर वा डामर	No explanation.	
16	Dhānk	ढांक	Do.	
17	Dholi	ढोली	Said to be called after the Rattle (<i>Dānk</i>).	
18	Pipria Parmār	पिपरिया परमार	Called after the drum (<i>dhōl</i>).	
19	Dharwia Parmār	धरविया परमार	Of Parmār descent : called after Pipria village in Baria.	
20	Bariāla Parmār	बरिआला परमार	Ditto: called after a village probably.	
21	Chotria Parmār	चोत्रिया परमार	Ditto : called after Bardi village in Dohad district.	
22	Godria Parmār	गोड्रिया परमार	Of Parmār descent: not explained.	
23	Armotia Parmār	अरमोटिया परमार	Ditto : probably for Godhra.	
24	Bahrodia Parmār	बहरोदिया परमार	Ditto : not explained.	
25	Bhaktia Parmār	भक्तिया परमार	Ditto : not explained.	

Number.	Name English.	Hindi.	Story of origin.	Remarks.
26	Ringolia Parmār	रिंगोलिया परमार	Ditto : called after Ringol village in Ali-Rajpur.	
27	Dahniya Parmār	डहनिया परमार	Ditto : not explained, but said to be connected with curds (<i>dahi</i>).	
28	Naiya Parmār	नैया परमार	Ditto : called after.	
29	Tandia Parmār	टंडिया परमार	Ditto : called after Tānda village in Amjhera district of Gwalior.	
30	Dudwa Parmār	दुदवा परमार	Ditto : called after Dodem village in Kāthiawāra estate.	
31	Behra	बेहरा	Not explained.	
32	Baria	बरिया	Called after Baria whence they came, the head of the sept now resides at Bardi village in Dohad district.	
33	Bhangi Bhābar	भंगी भाबर	Called after Bhābra village in Ali-Rajpur.	
34	Budia Bhābar	बुडिया भाबर	Offshoot of No. 33.	
35	Bhuria	भुरिया	Not explained.	
36	Bhūra	भूरा	Do.	
37	Gadia Rāthor	गडिया राठोर	Of Rāthor descent : from Gadoi village in Dohad district.	
38	Nāna Rāthor	नाना राठोर	Ditto : from Nāndwa village in Dohad district.	
39	Solanki	सोलंकी	Claim Rājput descent from this clan.	
40	Hoida	होइडा	Descended from a Hindu tailor it is said : not otherwise explained.	
41	Hatila	हटिला	Local : from Hāthipura in the Rānāpur <i>tahsil</i> of Jhābua.	
42	Hinhor	हिंहोर	Not explained.	
43	Goyal	गोयल	Claim Rājput Gohil origin.	
44	Mori	मोरी	Local : from Mori village in Dohad district.	
45	Wāgul	वागुल	No explanation.	
46	Gamār	गमार	No explanation. <i>Gamār</i> means "fool."	
47	Kochra	कोचरा	No explanation.	
48	Badkhia	बड़खिया	Called after the <i>badkhi</i> , an implement used in gathering mangoes.	
49	Māus	माउस	No explanation.	
50	Thāndar	ठांडर	Descended from an ancestor who was a <i>thānā tār</i> in Kāthiawāra estate.	
51	Dewal	देवल	Local : after Deoli village in Ali-Rajpur.	
52	Padiāya	पडिया	Not explained.	



(59)

THE RATHIA SECTION

OF

THE BHIL TRIBE,

BY

J. D. ST. JOSEPH,

Forest Officer, Bhopāwar Agency.

1. (a) They are commonly known as *Rāthia* owing to their long sojourn in the *Rāth* country which now forms the greater part of the Ali-Rājpur State.

(b) They are sometimes called *Gānda* (fundament), that is, one who does not wash after easing himself. Now, however, the word is applied to a fool or person without any common-sense, *e. g.*, if a member of the clan is detected committing a crime, he will nearly always say "I belong to the *Gānda* caste," that is, have not sense enough to know better.

(c) They call themselves *Rāthia*, that is, inhabitants of *Rāth*.

(d) When asked to what caste they belong, they will often say they are *Rāthia Bhilālas*, to denote their superiority over other Bhils.

The tribes speak a corrupt form of Gujarāṭi. Typical names among males are :—*Raoji*, *Thaoria*, *Jhinia*, *Pahār Singh*, nicknames being *Rao*, *Sulia*, *Loharia*, *Pahāri*. Typical names among females are :—*Ramli*, *Thauli*, nicknames being *Rani*, *Thoni*.

When parents lose their first-born sons or calamities occur while the mother is enceinte, *e. g.*, death of husband or burning of the homestead, they are superstitious about naming their children, and two names are not given, but one only and that an opprobrious one, *e. g.*, *Kutria* (dog), *Kotwalia* (low caste), *Tumria* (gourd), *Ganda* (cadamite).

2. The exogamous divisions of the section are :—

1 <i>Bondār</i>	5 <i>Solia</i>	9 <i>Sastia</i>
2 <i>Jamra</i>	6 <i>Khartia</i>	10 <i>Awaya</i>
3 <i>Bāmnia</i>	7 <i>Nargaona</i>	11 <i>Chauhānia</i>
4 <i>Kiraria</i>	8 <i>Chongria</i>	

3. They are not apparently totemistic.

The septs are all considered equal in status.

4. A man must marry within the *Rāthia* group. He cannot marry a girl of the division or section to which he belongs or of the section to which his mother belongs or of his paternal grandmother's section or of his maternal grandmother's section. There is no difficulty in obtaining husbands or wives, nor is it customary for two men to exchange daughters. A man can marry two sisters. The children belong to the division or section to which the father belongs.

5. There is no prohibition of intermarriage, based upon (a) social status, (b) geographical or local position, (c) differences of religious belief or practice, (d) differences or changes of occupation.

6. The *Rāthias* of Barwānī date their advent from about a century back, when one Bhīma Patel and others came from *Rāth* and settled at Pāti in the time of Rānā Chandra Singh. Then the country was all forests and there were no restrictions upon cutting and burning the growth.

Proverbs are :—(1) *Dai gori lāl lagām*, that is, “old horse, nice bridle,” applied to a woman who is old and coquettish.

(2) *Suokār ki chhāti, asāmi ki pīth*, that is, “a money-lender can give readily, but the cultivator pays with difficulty.”

(3) *Hote ke jote*, that is, “honour is paid to wealth.”

Songs are :—

- (1) *Mach mach kasta re machyo māmā re.*
 (The battle was fought with spirit and vehemence.)
Tejgarh māmā mach reyo.
 (The battle was fought on Tejgarh.)
Dhola par kāla likhyo re Subhān Rao.
 (Subhān Rao issued written orders.)
Supne men māmā dekhyo Subhān Rao.
 (Subhān Rao saw this in a dream.)

It means :—Subhān Rao, who was a Rījā, dreamt that an enemy was invading his country. Whereupon, when he awoke in the morning he issued orders to his *Sirdārs* who assembled and opposed the invaders and the battle was fought with spirit and vehemence.

- (2) *Khede ne bedhe, gundar khāra geli sel chhori.*
 (The girl has gone to the forest to eat gum.)
Khede ne bedhe, temru khāra geli sel chhori.
 (The girl has gone to the forest to eat Temru.)

7. The habit of the caste is settled, but in times of severe distress such as famine or overcrowding they remove to fresh fields. In such cases their movements are restricted to the hilly tracts of the Sātpurās, Aravalis, and Vindhya. Their recognised headquarters are in the country forming the Alī-Rājpur State. Their dwellings are made of wood, bamboos, and grass. The walls are of wattling or bamboo matting firmly fixed between posts and rails and daubed with a thick plaster of cowdung and mud: wood of superior or inferior species is used according to circumstances with lashings of bark or bamboo, grass thatch being laid over damage of teak or *palas* leaves or brushwood spread over a light wood trellis.

A few paces from the front of the dwelling is the cattle pen, which is a rude covered erection with rough wooden rails loosely placed between forks of durable wood, firmly fixed in the ground. The whole construction is securely hedged all round with thorns and bamboos. These habitations are scattered far apart in sheltered nooks and corners.

8. They can admit outsiders of higher castes but not of lower castes.

9. Marriage is performed at adult age, usually about 15 or 16 years. No ceremony is performed when a girl reaches puberty. In all cases husbands are procured. Cohabitation takes place when the girl reaches puberty. The average age for a boy to marry is about 18 years. Marriage is determined by courtship or by the parents. If by the former, parents have no say in the matter. Sexual license before marriage is tolerated. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, her fault is condoned by marriage. They are not in the habit of capturing wives, nor are there any traditions regarding the practice.

10. Polygamy is permitted. Polyandry never.

11. Marriage ceremonies are simple. At the time of betrothal the boy's father with some relatives goes to the girl's house and presents Rs. 5 to the girl. Then, they eat and drink together. At the time of marriage the bridegroom's father accompanied by his male and female relatives goes to the bride's house and pays Rs. 50 or 60 to her parents. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit together, while the men and women sing and dance to the strains of Bhil music. It is customary to rub the bridegroom and bride with turmeric (*haldi*). The bridegroom wears a long coat (*angarkha*), a *dhoti*, *dupatta* or cloth over the shoulder and shoes. The bride wears a red petticoat (*ghāgra*), red bodice (*kānchli*) and white sheet (*orhni*), its borders being coloured with turmeric. The bride's parents pay nothing in cash, but ornaments or a dowry of Rs. 25 to 50 is given to the bridegroom, the value being determined by the affluence or position of the bridegroom's parents or his own looks or healthy state of body. There are no special rates even if the bridegroom be educated. A widower pays about Rs. 120 for a young wife. If owing to the girl's good looks and virtuous character, there is a competition for her hand, the price paid to the bride's parents is considerably enhanced.

The ceremony of *Lagan* is not performed.

The marriage expenses for the bride's family amount to Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 incurred on feasts and clothes. For the bridegroom's family it amounts to Rs. 100 or more incurred on feasts and ornaments and presents for the bride and her sisters or brothers.

12. Re-marriage of widows is permitted by the *Nātra* ceremony. *Nātra* with the husband's brother is not allowed. At the time of *Nātra* the widow's father takes some money, usually about Rs. 40, from the new husband and gives a feast.

13. Divorce is permitted when the wife's character is bad. The divorced woman may perform *Nātra* with another man but no regular ceremonies are observed. The new husband has to pay about Rs. 40 to the woman's father. In case of divorce no money is refunded to the former husband. Adultery is regarded with abhorrence and in old times was severely punished, usually by some permanent mark (such as branding, or a disfiguring the features) being inflicted on both man and woman; now, however, such cases are settled by tribal enquiry and the man, if proved guilty, is fined Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 and the money expended in feasting, if the man is not agreeable to pay the fine, the matter is taken into the law court.

14. The Hindu law of inheritance is followed. Females have no right of inheritance nor has the son-in-law. At the father's death all sons have an equal share of the property. Sons have no right to property while the father is alive. Trial by ordeal is known, but is rapidly dying out, some of the forms employed were the swallowing of live coals, holding live coals in the hand, piercing the

palm of the hand with an arrow, eating poisonous herbs or fruit, etc. Oaths are administered at a tribal inquiry, swearing is usually by the eldest born or infant son or a dog. They believe also in omens, oracles, magic, sorcery, and witchcraft. Among omens may be mentioned the flowering of certain species of trees and plants by which they tell whether the rains will be early or late, and the calls of certain birds which foretell success in the pursuit of game. Again when starting on an errand, if a horse should neigh on the right side, it bodes success, if on the left side, failure. Similarly, a bullock across the path is considered an evil omen and *vice versâ* if a cow crosses the path. As regards oracles, it consists in consulting, in cases of sickness, birth, marriage, and naming of children, certain persons whom they hold in great respect and reverence. Magic, sorcery, and witchcraft are practised by medicine-men called *Badwas* or by old women (witches). In respect of the first two it is believed that a man can be turned into a lamb and *vice versâ*, also that a green tree can be struck dead. In cases of serious illness it is almost invariably considered to be due to a witch taking possession of the patient's heart, consequently a *Badwa's mantras* are considered to be the only remedy.

15. They but profess the Hindu religion and reverence all Hindu deities, but are in fact essentially animists. Among the Hindu gods they show preference for *Hanumân* or monkey god. As regards Animism, their *Badwas* evoke spirits and tell them the results. On such occasions the *Badwa* or witch is supposed to be possessed and goes through a performance consisting of various contortions of the body and rapid movements of the head, the eyes roll in their sockets while the nostrils are distended and in the excitement the few rags worn are often thrown off. The possessed being then half inconveniently blabbers out what the spirit has told him, and soon after calms down and for a time becomes as helpless as a child, doubtless owing to the exertion he has undergone.

In casting out disease or an epidemic from a village, after a sacrifice to the principal deity, the *Badwa* will visit all the sacred spots within the precincts of the village, chanting in a droning tone some invocation followed by drummers and been clashing copper plates : at each spot he will offer up a little red ochre (*sindur*) and a piece of cocoanut, while at the principal entrance into the village limits, he will show by various antics and rapid gestures of hand and body with back turned to the village, that the spirit to which the disease was due has been cast out into the adjoining territory. Another form of casting out an epidemic, is to sling some baskets, that have contained corn, and *gharas* (earthen pots) that have been used for water, on a bamboo or pole which is carried on the shoulders of men who run along the main road shouting at the top of their voices *todka ! todka !!* On hearing the shouts, the next village send out men to meet the procession at the boundary and these take over the burden and so the process is repeated. Thus the epidemic is carried away often to great distances, until eventually it is thrown into some stream or river which stretches across the path or is deposited in the forest. If no one from the next village is present to meet the procession at the boundary, the bearers are at liberty to deposit their burden in the village precincts. Sometimes a young he-goat is similarly carried on the shoulders of men or tied on to a light bier.

16. The minor gods worshipped are :—

- (1) Powers of nature—Sun and river,
- (2) Defied heroes—*Hanumân*,

- (3) Deities of disease—Smallpox.
- (4) Local and village gods—Bhilat Deo.
- (5) Gods of trees, sacred groves—*Pipal*, *nīm*, etc.
- (6) Animal gods—Snakes.

The origin of *Bhilat Deo* is as follows:—*Bhilat Deo* was the son of *Rupa rela Gaoli* and his mother's name was *Mheinda Rānī*. He was a great simpleton when young, and in consequence was always being chaffed and made fun of by every one. Accordingly disgusted of life, he left his country and after wandering far and wide arrived in *Gaur Bengal* where he met a spirit *Karanda Jogan* by name who taught him magic. He studied the art to perfection and then returned to his native place to pass the remainder of his days. On one occasion while many people were collected together, he took his harp and began playing when a snake came out of a mole-hill. The snake was so huge that the earth vibrated beneath the lashings of his tail. *Bhilat Deo*, however, caught the snake and took it to *Indar Rājā* (Indra) who was greatly pleased to see his marvellous strength and power and ordered the people to reverence him as a *Deo* (god) in future: thus, his worship started. *Indar Rājā* gave him *Bheru Deota* for a personal attendant, and also presented him with some cows as a reward of his merit. *Bhilat Deo* selected a spot under a tree on *Mangalawri* hill near *Sendhuwa* in *Indore State*, to settle. His cows increased daily in number, so much so, that he employed 900 cow herds to look after them, each man taking up his abode with his cows on a separate hill. Thus, each of these spots represents the site of *Bhilat Deo*, the gods being kept under a tree or under some rude cover or in a small temple.

The worshipping days are Sunday and Tuesday. The offerings are cocoanuts, fowls, goats, eggs, liquor, oil and powdered red ochre. All the gods are worshipped by men, women, and children alike. The gods are kept in temples or under trees, chiefly of the *ficus* species, and also under *nīm* trees. Except on special occasions when the village or part of the village turn out, no ceremonies are performed, the cocoanut or egg is broken and the goat or fowl killed; a part of the offering is placed near the god and the rest distributed among those present.

They have great reverence also for hill tops difficult of ascent, as being the abode of spirits which must be propitiated during sickness or calamity or to obtain offspring. In such cases after the usual offering the forest is often set alight.

17. Brāhmans are not employed for religious or ceremonial purposes. A casteman of their tribe simply called *Pujāri*, whose vocation is hereditary, performs the ceremonies. *Bhilat Deo* is always worshipped on Sundays when it is usual to offer a cocoanut, a fowl and one anna. The money is taken by the *Pujāri* and the rest distributed among the people.

18. If death is due to cholera or any infectious disease as smallpox or leprosy, the body is buried, otherwise burnt. Infants are buried. The dead are buried, or burnt close to the village and the ashes thrown into some flowing stream. In case of an adult, the mourning lasts for three days and for children one day, for a daughter's son or any other relatives also one day. During mourning the mourners do not cook food in their house nor wear good clothes, or join a marriage procession.

19. The propitiation ceremonies for ancestors in general are simple, they consist of a sumptuous feast prepared in their honour, usually on some festival day. A small quantity from each dish is placed on a leaf and thrown into a field, and the members then partake of the rest. The same is done in cases of childless ancestors or violent deaths. The ceremony of *Shrāddh* is not performed. No

cases are known of female ancestors being worshipped or of a deceased first wife being propitiated by the second wife. Cloth, one rupee, four annas, and some food is usually burned or buried with the deceased person, owing to the belief that these things will serve the spirit of the deceased person on its journey to the new destination.

20. The original occupation of the caste was agriculture and to this they still adhere to it. Those who have become poor, labour as coolies, preferring work in the fields and near their homes. In ploughing rude implements are used, the plough is made of some hard-wood, with or without a share, drawn by a pair of bullocks. Other wooden implements are the rake, and a round or square block of durable wood also drawn by bullocks for breaking clods. The land is ploughed only once in the year when *Kharif* crops are raised. More often than not no weeding is done.

21. As a rule, they are non-occupancy tenants, and essentially nomadic cultivators, but owing to restrictions made in this respect during the last ten years, many have settled down as good agriculturists.

Landless labourers are paid in kind, receiving grain of the value of two or three annas, daily wages.

They do not consider themselves absolute owners of the land. Each family has its separate holding of which he is owner so long as it is in his possession.

Tuesdays and Thursdays are considered auspicious days to commence ploughing or reaping operations. Rain on Tuesday is considered very lucky and on Saturday unlucky. Agricultural operations are usually performed twice. Scarecrows are used consisting of rudely fashioned likenesses in wood or straw of a human being or a blackened earthen pot is hung from a branch or stuck on to a pole, or the skull of a human being or animal is stuck on a pole. The usual ceremony performed before starting agricultural operations is to offer a cocoanut and some red powder to *Philat Deo*; on the completion of operations caste-fellows are invited to dine together. Various days in the month of *Jeth* (June and July) are considered lucky for commencing agricultural operations, while the month of *Bhādon* (August and September) is looked upon as unlucky. Any work to be done is commenced at early morning.

Some agricultural proverbs are :—(1) *Agar ghar men hoṛe juār to bania bhi kare johār.* (If there is *jowār* in the house then the Banias will also bow down before you).

22. They hunt and fish whenever they have the opportunity. They catch game and fish only.

23. They eat coarse grain. They can take flesh and wine, pork, flesh of cloven-footed animals, such as goats, fowls, scaly and scaleless fish. Those who abstain from wine and pork are respected by their caste-fellows.

24. They will eat from the hands of people of higher castes than themselves. They will take neither *pakki* nor *kachchi* food or water from the hands of lower castes. They may smoke a *chilam* from the hands of *Tarvi* and *Bhil* castes, which are considered lower castes. No higher caste will take *pakki* or *kachchi* food or water from their hands, but Hindus and Muhammadans will take and smoke a *chilam* from their hands; the latter will also eat food cooked by them.

25. Their approach or touch will neither pollute nor defile higher castes. They draw water from the village well and live in the village. The village barber will shave them. The village

washerman too will wash for them. They are not permitted to enter Hindu temples, Muhammadan mosques, but they may take part in the religious ceremonies.

26. They are rudely clad. The only peculiar usage in respect of dress is the loin cloth which is allowed to hang low down behind almost to the knees and flap in the wind like a tail. The bow and arrow are the weapons characteristic of the tribe. They do not wear the sacred thread.

(a) There are no games worthy the name, but boys and girls sometimes play a game of "hide and seek" on trees. Another similar game called *Utavri* is played by the young men of the caste. The chief tribal musical instrument is the drum.

(b) Theatrical entertainments are unknown among the tribe.

(c) The dress of males consists of a piece of cloth (about a span wide and a yard long) which passes between the fork and is fastened loosely to a cord tied round the waist so that during movements the end flaps like a tail. The *pagri* or turban is a long narrow piece of cloth twined like a string and fastened to the head, so as to leave the crown exposed. When out visiting, a *chaddar* or cloth is thrown over the right or left shoulder : they either go bare-footed or wear sandals, consisting of a piece of leather for a sole fastened to the foot with string or bark.

Females wear a *ghāgra* or petticoat fastened to the waist and reaching down to the feet, one end of this gown passes through the fork from front to back and is tucked in at the waist, giving the gown the appearance of a loosely tied *dhoti*. A *kānchli* or bodice hides the breast and is fastened at the back with cords. A *chaddar* or sheet is, more often than not, worn over the head, of which one end passing across the front part of the body is loosely touched in at the side of the waist.

The ornaments of males usually consist of brass or silver or gold ear-rings and rings and a *Kara* (bracelet) generally of silver with serpents' heads. A tiny mirror, a comb, a tooth pick and a pair of pincers are often worn, the two former being worn on the head, and the latter hanging with or without charms, about the waist. Ornaments of females are bead, necklaces, silver, copper or brass anklets, bracelets, ear-rings, rings and *daori* (forehead ornament of beads or silver) and *chūrīs* (armlets of glass or lacquerware).

Men oil and comb their hair with a parting in the centre, fashionably young bloods apply collyrium to their eyes. The hair is usually worn long falling at the sides, but the rest is hidden in the turban.

Females also oil and comb their hair which is twisted in the form of a knot, resting on the nape of the neck. They indulge in collyrium which is applied thick round the eyes, while a circle or dot of red powder is applied to the centre of the forehead.

No ornaments are worn as symbols of rank or to denote virginity or married state. Coloured threads, metal bracelets or anklets are worn to keep off devils or sickness.

Tattooing is not customary, but men and women often get themselves tattooed to beautify their persons : it is usually done on the arms, breast, cheeks, or chest, and is usually performed when they reach the adult stage. Men or women of their own caste do the tattooing. The designs represent arrows, feathers, and circles.

Branding as distinct from tattooing is largely performed, principally on the arms and feet, in the belief that it makes them strong and able to draw the bow or walk or run long distances. Branding is always resorted to in cases of severe pain.

THE UJLA MINAS OF INDORE.

The Ujla section of the Minas inhabit the Rāmpura and Bhānpura *Zilas* of the Indore State. They are on the whole well-to-do, live in good houses, and keep cattle and ponies, being specially fond of the latter. In appearance they resemble the other inhabitants of the tract, dressing like Rājputs. In the Census 98,216 Minas were returned in the Central India Agency, of whom 7,000 were met with in these districts.

Name and Origin.—The Ujla Minas state that they are a local section of the Rājputāna Minas. They claim Sesodia origin, averring that one of this ancestors married into a low caste and was ousted from the community, receiving the name Mina.

This is the legend they tell. Bāba Rāwal, a younger brother of the Rānā of Udaipur, fell in love with a low caste girl by whom he had four sons. One day two of the sons out hunting and being far from home found and eat the carcase of a bull which had perished in a jungle fire. They brought some of the flesh back to the camp but the other two brothers suspecting declined to partake of it. From this time on the Minas became split up into *Ujla* or pure and *Mele* or impure. Bāba Rāwal and the Ujla sons ultimately went to Jaipur, while the other two were obliged to resort to the jungles. Later some of the descendants of these Ujla Minas migrated to Bundi, then ruled by Lāla Hara, famed as the owner of a winged horse. They managed to drive out the king and place a Mina chief on the throne. Later on, however, the Mina allowed Lāla Hara to return as his dependent. The Mina chief's son, however, fell in love with one of Lāla's daughters, and when pressed Lāla feigned to consent to a marriage, while secretly sending to the Jaipur, Udaipur, and Jodhpur chiefs to come to his aid. They promised help. Lāla in the meantime mined the spot where the wedding was to take place. On the appointed day he led the bridegroom to the place, ignited the powder and blew up the Mina prince and his attendants. The Rājput chiefs then came up, turned out the Minas and seated Lāla on the throne, while his daughter married the Jodhpur chief. For twelve years a descendant of the Mina chief lived in the wilds of the Rāmpura *pathār*, doing penance at a shrine of Mahādeo, by standing on one leg. The god then appeared to him and promised him the kingdom of Rāmpura which he proceeded to seize from Rāma Bhil. The Minas were later ousted by the Chandrāwats, still the big local land-owners, who assigned the Minas *jāgīrs*.

Later on the Minas had their *jāgīrs* wrested from them by Mādho Singh of Jaipur who seized the district, and since that day they have always held a subordinate position in the tract.

Subdivisions.—The clan is endogamous and contains five *gotras* with various *shākhās*, the *gotrās* being exogamous.

- | | | |
|----------|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Osara | i. Ghārāt | Khandāsi. |
| | i. Rāwat | " |
| | iii. Uparmaria | " |
| | iv. Moriya | " |
| | v. Batadia | " |
| | vi. Rāwatji | " |
| | vii. Patrās | " |
| | viii. Amrāwat | " |
| 2. Barad | i. Chared | |
| | ii. Jonta | |

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| 2. Barad—(concluded) | iii. Bargadia |
| | iv. Loya |
| | v. Hadot |
| | vi. Khyāt |
| | vii. Garadi |
| | viii. Nanot |
| | ix. Bapāra |
| | x. Vasandwāra |
| 3. Ronda | i. Kodali |
| | ii. Pipārga |
| | iii. Kodari |
| 4. Kīt | i. Ariya Kīt |
| | ii. Ghāra „ |
| 5. Bakāla | i. Bakāla |
| 6. Gharāna | i. Morjamāl |
| | ii. Boyāna |
| | iii. Bandāna |
| | iv. Tarāla |
| | v. Motis. |

7. Padiyār.
8. Dumāla
9. Kalasia
10. Bhāvāla
11. Randār
12. Ghoting
13. Sīra
14. Mota
15. Hir
16. Vintola
17. Gugadi
18. Kāngchawar
19. Kabra
20. Gorwa
21. Bheud
22. Vājot
23. Morī
24. Lawār
25. Khāti
26. Pākad
27. Redka
28. Chita
29. Buja
30. Vātak
31. Archūd

Of these subdivisions no explanations are given. They are all *gotras* exogamous. It is stated that most of these subdivisions have a tree which they revere as the habitation of a tutelary deity or ancestor's spirit. This tree is never injured or used. All the subdivisions are of equal status.

Marriage.—Marriage must take place between separate *gotras* (not *shākhas*), the usual prohibition of three generations holding good as regards a second marriage into the same *gotra*. In cases of adoption, if a suitable boy is not to be found in the same *gotra*, adoption may be made from another *gotra* worshipping the same totem, tree, etc.

Boys marry between 7 and 15, and girls between 5 and 15. No ceremony is said to take place at puberty in the case of girls. Indeed they are usually already consigned to the care of their husbands by then. No fine or other disability is imposed for having a marriageable girl in the house although it is looked on with dislike. Polygamy is allowed, but not polyandry.

The marriage ceremonies are Hindu and Brāhmins are employed. The expenses of an average marriage are about Rs. 300 to each side. Adultery is not tolerated and is punished by fines.

Other Customs.—These are Hindu and require no detailing.

MANKAR BHILS OF BARWANI.

Name and Origin.—The Mānkars are also called Dhāṅkawās by other Bhils, but are amongst themselves styled *Nāhāls* or *Naik*, the last an honorific term, being that which they prefer.

They speak a dialect of Nimāri called Māṅkarī.

The name Māṅkar is an occupational term, these men being under the orders of the village headmen; the term *Dhāṅkawās* is from *Dhanukh*, a bow, from their carrying a bow and arrows. The term *Nāhāl* simply means "one of mean appearance." The title of "Naik" was conferred on them by the state authorities in early days. The Mānkars at that time gave great trouble by plundering, and in order to stop this their leaders were summoned and an arrangement come to by which each headman was put in charge of a district for the peace of which he was responsible, receiving in return a yearly cash payment and the title of "Naik" or leader.

They say they are descendants of Rājputs and Bhil or Bhilāla women. By the arrangement mentioned above they were to receive four *chaukīs* (or 16 seers) of grain per plough of land cultivated in the villages in their district. In 1875 four Naiks—Bhīma, Khaja, Mawāsa, and Ananda—attacked a convoy of treasure on the Agra-Bombay road seizing (it is said) 9 lakhs, but they were soon after caught in the jungles of Ambāpāni and the money recovered.

Subdivisions.—They form two endogamous groups with twelve exogamous septs, the Chokaria (or superior), Mānkars and the Nāhāl Mānkars. They have the same septs, I suppose, but nothing is said on this matter.

Septs.

1. **Bondaria.**—A fanciful origin is given from *bondar*, "a rival." The sept worship the *sāli* plant and never cut it.

2. **Gunga-Soliya** (*see* Soliya).—They always worship in absolute silence (*gūnga*) only using gestures.

3. **Kavacha.**—Called after the *kavach* plant which they worship. A legend runs that a certain woman who had a great reputation for holiness disgusted at the sinfulness of her people was relieved by the gods and received into the bowels of the earth. At the spot where she vanished this plant sprang up. My informant says "as she was so chaste and pious, the plant produces an itch when persons touch it!"

4. **Kutar-Soliya** (*see* Soliya).—A man once ate a puppy (mistaking it for a hare, the story goes!) and henceforth his descendants formed a new sept. They make the image of a dog in flour, worship it, and then eat it.

5. **Mori.**—Called after the peacock. The sept worship the peacock and never injure it.

6. **Mujalda.**—An eponymous sept called after a woman famous for her piety, from whom they are descended. She came from a village called Kadwāliya where her image still stands and is an object of worship.

7. **Sanyar.**—Called after a goddess of this name whose temple is at Bal-kuwān village, eight miles from Barwānī.

The goddess rides on a cat and this animal is revered and never injured by them. Any vessel from which a cat has drunk is at once put aside as sacred and never used again. They claim a Rājput ancestor.

8. **Soliya or Khas-Soliya.**—Called after a bird of this name. This bird is never injured and is worshipped. Any injury done is believed to be punished by the blinding of the man doing the injury. The other three Soliyas—Gunga, Kūtār, and Tār—are offshoots of this sept.

9. **Semliya.**—Called after the *semal* (*Bombax malabaricum*) which they reverence and never injure.

10. **Tar-Soliya** (*see* Soliya).—They worship the stars and the Soliya bird, the worship of the former being dependent on a clear sky and the visibility of the stars.¹

All are of the same rank and hypergamy is unknown. The *Chokar* and *Nahāls* marry separately within their groups.

These two groups can, however, eat, drink, and smoke together.

Marriage.—Marriage, as stated, must take place in the group and outside the sept a man can marry into his mother's or grandmother's sept.

Exchange of daughters is practised. Girls are generally married between 12 and 14 and boys between 16 and 20.

A man always selects his wife, the parents not being consulted.

The *dahej* or dowry is paid by the bridegroom and is usually Rs. 12. The bridegroom always pays and not the bride.

The expenses are about Rs. 80 to the bride's family and Rs. 100 to bridegroom's.

The ceremonies are much like those of a Hindu wedding, but simpler and fewer.

Intercourse before marriage is not considered a heinous offence.

Polygamy is common but polyandry is unknown.

Widows.—Widows re-marry, but no ceremony takes place.

They may not marry their husband's brother. A widow, on re-marrying, forfeits all claims to her late husband's property.

Divorce.—Divorce merely requires the consent of the parties, but if it is for no fault the husband is obliged to return the money expended by his wife's family. She can re-marry, but not with her husband's brothers. She can also re-marry with her divorced husband, no ceremony being required.

Customs.—In other respects they follow Hindu customs.

1. For another list see *Census Report*, 1901, p. 197.

TARVI BHILS OF BARWANI.

Name and Origin.—They are known to people as Tarvi Bhils, but call each other *Dahāla* or "Elder."

Two septs of these Bhils came into Barwānī, one from Rath, the country in which the Jhābua State lies, and from Dohad in the Bombay Presidency.

The Rāthvi Tarvis speak Rāthvi, the others Bhāguri, a corrupted form of Gujarātī. The name is said to be from *Tar*, a party, as they were originally of the Bhilāla class, but were outcasted for misconduct and form a separate "party" of their own.

Subdivisions.—They are divided into two endogamous divisions, Tarvis and Nātrā-Tarvis, each of which is subdivided into 15 septs with similar names. (Not quite clear in original.)

1. *Bāmnia*.—This is most certainly a corruption of Brāhman, the sept having originally claimed descent from one of this caste. An impossibly fanciful derivation of the "striving after meaning" clan is given from *amanya*, a disease of the arms !

2. *Bhuria*.—That is, fair-coloured ; from a well known ancestor.

3. *Bodariya*.—A fanciful origin is given from an ancestor with large breasts (*Bondaria*).

4. *Chāmka*.—Fancifully derived from *chamakna*, to be startled.

5. *Chauhān*.—They claim Pseudo-Rājput descent.

6. *Dawāria*.—So called from a left handed ancestor.

7. *Dewārkiā*.—From a custom, no longer followed, of marrying the widow to her husband's younger brother (*dewar*).

8. *Holia*.—No explanation.

9. *Khedkiya*.—From being great hunters (*Khederiya*=pursuer).

10. *Kikria*.—Called after the *Kīkar*, a root dug up in the jungles and eaten. This sept never eat this plant, anyone doing so is believed to become blind.

11. *Māwadia*.—A corruption of *Mahua* after the *mahuā* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). Though the sept eat the fruit of the tree and drink liquor made from it, they never cut or injure it, blindness being the penalty for so doing.

12. *Mehdia*.—A corruption of *Behra*, the name of a tree. The sept never cuts this tree or use its wood. Anyone using it loses the power of his limbs.

13. *Mohania*.—Called after the *mohini* tree, which was the birth-place of the founder of the sept. This tree is revered and never cut by them.

14. *Pachāli*.—Fanciful origin from an ancestor who used to spit (*pachpach*).

15. *Vāskala*.—A corruption of *Riskal*, a wild thorny tree, known as the *Baikal* in Hindī (*Balanites roxburghi*). They worship the tree and never cut it down ; its fruit may be used.

All the septs are of equal rank and hypergamy is unknown.

Marriage.—Marriage must take place within the division, but outside the sept.

Marriage with a girl of the maternal uncle, maternal aunt, mother-in-law, or sister-in-law is prohibited.

But they can marry into their mother's sept, or grandmother's sept. Exchange of daughters is practised. Locality is no bar to marriage, other things being correct and Rathvi and Dohad Tarvis intermarry ; sept differences are also no bar.

Early marriage is not practised, boys marry between 15 and 20, and girls from 12 years of age.

Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, is not considered disgraceful, and is often, says my informant, encouraged. A man adulterer is fined Rs. 5.

Ceremonies of marriage.—These are simple. As soon as the girl is found the man proceeds to the girl's house and takes a pitcher of liquor with him. Omens are carefully considered and a bad sign on the road is sufficient to break off the wedding. When the betrothal takes place a feast is held of all relatives. The day for the marriage procession is settled and the wedding is celebrated with much singing and the consumption of large quantities of liquor.

A bride-price is paid by the groom's father. About Rs. 100 is usual, Rs. 40 being added for gifts to the bride. If her husband dies, his relatives can claim the ornaments but not the dowry.

If the wife leaves her first husband during his life and marries another, the second husband has to pay Rs. 125, i. e., Rs. 25 per cent. over and above the dowry, to the husband she has left, and also restore the ornaments given or pay their value in cash. In case of divorce by the first husband, however, he does not get Rs. 125 but only the dowry itself (Rs. 100) and Rs. 40 for the ornaments. If after betrothal a woman marries a different man the slighted lover gets Rs. 5 as compensation.

Expenses at a marriage amount to about Rs. 80, paid by the bride's father, of which Rs. 30 is for clothes and ornaments, Rs. 35 for feasts, Rs. 15 for musicians, etc. The bridegroom's father spends about Rs. 200, of which Rs. 100 is dowry, Rs. 40 for ornaments and clothes for the bride, Rs. 50 in entertainments, and the rest in musician's fees and other charges.

Widow re-marriage.—Widows are allowed to re-marry but may not marry their husband's brother.

On second marriage a widow relinquishes all claims to her late husband's property.

Divorce.—Divorce is a simple matter. Any wife can leave her husband or husband his wife, if they agree to do so ; the existence of a family is no bar. Divorced women can re-marry without difficulty.

No ceremony is required but the payments mentioned above have to be made.

Inheritance—Questions of inheritance are settled by caste *pañchāyats*.

Religion.—The Tarvis like other Bhils are largely animistic in their beliefs, although every year makes the influence of Hinduism more and more strongly felt, and Hanumān is now regarded as their tutelary village deity (*Khera-pati*), his image being always placed on the village boundary.

Rājā Indar (Indra) is an important deity, others being Bāba Sondal, Rānā Kunda, Nakki-māta, Bāba Balia, and Kājul-māta.

In *Paush* and *Bhādon* each year boughs of the *kalam* tree are set up to represent Rājā Indar, Bābā Sondal, and Kausari-māta (i. e., Jwari-māta).

The village folk dance in a circle round them to the sound of drums and pipes. A *Barwa* or witch-finder seats himself before the boughs ; after a time he becomes possessed with the spirit of the god and is then able to foretell the future and also to cure the sick. He is given presents and offerings by those seeking his advice or help.

The Tarvis also observe the *Diwāli*, when they worship their cattle, feeding them on *ghī*, sugar and wheaten cakes. A feast in which a great consumption of liquor takes place concludes the ceremonies.

Before grain for the new crops is eaten the *Nawai* ceremony is performed, a certain share of each crop being offered to Hanumān.

The earth, sun, Narbada river, Satpurā Hills (called Bāba Dongar), deceased heroes of tradition

such as Rāna Kunda, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, the cobra called Bhi'at, a Nāgdeo, the cow and monkey, are all regarded with reverence.

Priests.—They employ no Brāhmans, doing most ceremonies themselves but employing the *Barwas* when required.

Death.—Dead are cremated, the pyre being ignited by a kinsman but *never by a son*. Infants are buried. The ashes of a cremated person are thrown into a stream.

The customs of cremation vary ; some place a rupee in the dead man's mouth, some remove all clothes and ornaments, while others burn these with the corpse.

Some eatables are always burnt with the corpse. When the clothes are removed they are the perquisite of the village *Balāhi*.

Mourning (*sutak*) is observed during the ceremony of cremation.

A bamboo is erected by the deceased's nearest of kin. All relations then attend and pay homage to this bamboo. A symposium follows.

Shrāddh is never performed, but the names of those who die a violent or accidental death are propitiated. A stone is erected bearing the effigy of the deceased man and a goat and some wine are offered to it every year on the anniversary of his death. Singing, dancing, music, and much wine drinking also take place.

Although no *shrāddh* is performed, a general offering to the ancestors is made at the *Nawai* and *Diwālī* feasts, in the latter case female ancestors especially are venerated.

Occupation.—They consider agriculture as their original occupation. None of them are zamindars but a few hold hereditary lands.

They wander as a rule and this militates against their being settled land-holders. Much is now being done however to get them to settle.

Social characteristics.—In the local community of Barwānī they place themselves fourth in the social scale of agriculturists,

1. Sirwis.
2. Bhilālas.
3. Marāthās.
4. Tarvis.
5. Mānkars.

Food.—They live mainly on *jowār*, maize, and *bājra* with vegetables and jungle roots and fruits. Flesh and fish are eaten, and wine drunk.

Dead cows they eat, but do not kill them expressly. This abstention from killing the cow is admittedly an innovation due to Hindu influences. Beef purchased from a butcher they also eat. Snakes, crocodiles, lizards, jackals, and rats are not eaten. *Pakki* they can take except from Mānkars. Rathvi *Bhilālas* being the lowest known caste from whom they will accept it.

Kachchi and water is similarly received.

No caste will eat from their hands. Rathvi *Bhilālas* are the highest caste which accept water from them.

They cannot touch or approach close to a Brāhman without defiling him.

In the case of Deccani Brāhman they may touch a man but not a woman of the caste.

They draw water from the village well and the barber and Dhobi serve them.

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Dress.—Their dress is often very scanty consisting of a waistcloth and a mere whisp of cloth which does duty as a turban. The more well-to-do dress like Hindus. Tattooing is general with both sexes.

Amusement.—They have no peculiar amusements, dancing and singing with much drinking being the usual incidents of all feasts.

The *Rās Krida* dance differs from others in the men dancing with sticks in their hands which they beat together as they dance, while a man disguised as a *sādhu* and another as a woman perform a *pas-de-deux* in the centre of the ring.



F.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS.

I HAVE selected these songs out of a number collected at various times. They are ordinary examples of the lays chanted to the Bhils in villages.

In recording them the actual words as used were put down most carefully, the class of letter, cerebral, palatal, etc., actually used by the singer being noted.

The language is more mixed than the spoken dialect of any one district, as was to be expected in song, and also from the fact that the singers have gathered their lays from various sources. The language, however, shews clearly its adherence to Gujarātī rather than Mālwi, and generally to the standard form common in Mahikānṭha as given in Mr. Thompson's grammar, and to the dialect of Khāṇḍesh.

Without going into details it may be noted that the genitive ordinarily ends in *na* or *no*, though the Rājasthānī form in *rā*, and even the form *kera* (common in the Rāmāyana) is met with, we have *maro*, my; *tena*, of him; *soro*, *sorā*, boy, girl; *gher*, house; *jā-je*, please go; *dhāmiyo*, hastened; *dodyo*, ran; *kuno*, *kunyo*, who, whose; *hāt* (for *hāth*), hand; *kim*, why; *ne*, and; the infinitive in *-wā*, as *kheiwā*, to play.

For *hai* we have *se* derived from *chhe*, which is also used itself.

A common word used for *good*, *excellent*, *thoroughly*, and indeed generally as an adverb implying fitness or completeness, is *ruḍo*, a word met with in the *Khārwa* form of Gujarātī.

Of other changes, *h* stands for *s*, *s* for *ch* or *chh*, *d* for *r*, *k* for *g*, and so on as is usual.

As those reading these songs will be conversant with Hindī, only a few notes are appended here and there.

Of the songs given the first deals with the migration of the Dāmar section of Bhils from Gujarāt to the south of Central India, the second with an irruption of Bāriya Bhils, the third with one of the tribal demi-gods, and the fourth with the custom of marking the *tika* on the forehead of the Jhābua chief at his succession.

I should add that the historical nature of these songs has paled before their supposed efficacy as charms, and they are commonly chanted round invalids, especially in cases of epidemic disease. They are sung to the accompaniment of *dhāk* and *kāmle* or drum and bamboos,¹ such singing being called *mandor karwa*.

No. I.—THE SONG OF KACHUMAR DĀMAR BHIL.

He ine ine range voravālā devu venḍḍvu. I make (my) obeisance to my gods whom all worship.—Hāṇre², etc.

He devuṇ devuṇon melāvo—Hāṇre ke mālan I worship all the collective body of the gods—meravo—Hāṇre ke mālan meravo. Hāṇre, etc.

He ine Dholkāni dhartī mān Uharā Buharā In the land of Dholka (lived) these two Dāmar (Bhils), Uharā and Buharā (by name). Dāmar.

He Dāmar māḷana dhāyā³ ne—Hāṇre, etc. These two Dāmars were satiated with riches—Hāṇre, etc.

[N.B.—Words in brackets are not in text.]

1. The Kamde is a bamboo which has been split and notched over which another is rapidly rubbed producing a monotonous sound. 2. The meaning of the *tek* "Hāṇre, etc." is not clearly known to the singers. It will only be indicated after the first verse. 3. *Dhāyā*=*dhāla*.

- He Dāmar sādini¹ havelire huṇānā naliyā—
Hānre, etc.
- Ae āyā mangalwāre dādā²—Hānre, etc.
- He Dāmar sikār khelwā jāyase dūngarnī
dhartimān—Hānre, etc.
- He devatā nawalakhe sorī sere³ Meghūnī soriyān—
Hānre, etc.
- Ae sāli Mānitā dariyāo mān—Hānre, etc.
- Ae tape Jeth to Vesākhwāre balā to tapene—
Hānre, etc.
- He tape Jeth to Vesākhe karmet⁴ lāgitarhe—
Hānre, etc.
- He Dāmar⁵ hawāho⁶ Dāmorsere, Mānitā
daryāo mān—Hānre.
- He Dāmor sindāto pātliye⁷ khelwā to lāgyā—
Hānre, etc.
- He phāde ghāghrā lugdā⁸ re Meghūnī sorinā—
Hānre, etc.
- He padyā hānjunā hānjolā re galati kera
porna⁹.
- Hān bāi rowatiwo rajaltiwo¹⁰ hāmī wo hānjne.
- “He Bāi kāmī tūn karyosewo Mānitā dariyāo
mān—Hānre, etc.
- Rānde dola¹¹ nirūn līdāre—Hānre.
- Aj, māḍi, dola ne karyāse wo dola ne nīr ne.
- Puse Kālurāṇa Megh ne—Hānre, etc.
- Aj soriye pukāre saḍisewo mārā Kālurāṇa
Megh ne.
- Bāpā ijjat ābrū līdā—Hānre.
- Aj Piyo¹², saḍikāne rīhere mārā Kālurāṇa
Megh ne.
- Saḍyā Meghūnā hānhuṇā¹³—Hānre.
- Aj, Piyo, bola lone mārere mārā wāra se
Meghdā.
- Aj Meghdā alopāwā lāgā Mara jodī nā bālamne¹⁴—
Hānre.
- Aj, Piyo, dūndhūne¹⁵ pādya sere dūndhū
rūdā kal ne.
- The Dāmar's house was of silver, (roofed with)
tiles of gold—Hānre.
- One day (it fell upon) a Tuesday—Hānre.
- These Dāmars went hunting on the hills—
Hānre.
- Now (the same day) the lovely daughters of the
god Megh—Hānre.
- Went forth to the Mānitā lake—Hānre.
- The heat of Jeth and of Vaisakh beat fiercely
on them—Hānre.
- And from this heat of Jeth and Vaisakh great
thirst assailed them—Hānre.
- These Dāmars, there were one hundred
and twenty-five of them, went to Mānitā
lake.
- These Dāmars began to play pranks (with the
daughters of Megh).
- They tore away the petticoats and Lugdas of
the daughters of Megh—Hānre.
- (At last) dusk came and the waning light of
evening fell.
- In the evening (home went) the girls bitterly
weeping and ashamed—Hānre.
- “Oh daughters” (said their mother) “what did ye
(so late) at Mānitā tank”—Hānre.
- “Why, bad girls, do you bring (pots of) dirty
water?”
- “To-day” (they replied) “Oh mother, they made
(all our) water dirty.”
- Then Kālurāṇa Megh (entering) asked them—
Hānre.
- Then the girls went and cried out, “Oh dear
Kālurāṇa Megh.”
- “Oh father, they have destroyed our honour
and virtue—Hānre.
- Kālurāṇa Megh at this, Ah Friends, got very
angry.
- (Then) began clouds to gather from all sides—
Hānre.
- In his rage, Friends, he began to thunder from
twelve hundred clouds.
- Then the clouds began to fly away, Oh my
good companions—Hānre.
- Then, Friends, a fearful, terrible famine came
upon them.

1. Sāndini=chāndini. 2.=day. 3.=thin. 4. Karme=garme, here its affect, i. e., thirst. 5. Both forms Dāmor and Dāmar occur. 6. Hawāho=Sawa San used for “many.” 7. Sindāto pātliye : a game like prisoners' base. 8. Lugdā=cloth covering head and shoulders. 9. Porna=prahar, pahara, a watch of four hours. 10. Rajalti=lajalti (H. lajwanti). 11. Dola : dirty or muddy water. 12. Aj Piyo : the word Piyo is addressed to the audience. 13. (?) Hānhuṇa=chahu (nā)=from all sides. 14. Lit. Oh my equal (jodī) friends. 15. Dūndhūne=terrify-
ing; rūdā=good, much, very, great, etc.

Paḍyā ḍhūṇḍhū rūḍā kāl ne-Hāṇre.	(Yea) a devastating famine-Hāṇre.
Aj Ḍāmor hunānī galiye sere, māri honānī haveliye.	Then did the golden (roofed) houses of the Ḍāmars melt away.
Ḍāmor anu ne dhanu gālya-Hāṇre.	(Likewise) did their grain and riches vanish-Hāṇre.
Aj, Ḍāmor, ḍhūṇḍhūne lāḍya sere ḍhūṇḍhū rūḍā kāl ne.	(Thus) did a fearful, terrible famine fall on the Ḍāmars.
Ḍāmor garī ne gārd thāyā-Hāṇre.	The Ḍāmars are (thus) destroyed by evil plight-Eāṇre.
Ḍāmor pūswā ¹ ne lāgi Mokhal Ḍamrānī.	Then did Mokhal Ḍamrānī question the Ḍāmars.
Pūse Hidmal Ḍāmarne-Hāṇre.	She asked of Sīdmal Ḍamar (her husband)-Hāṇre.
Aj Ḍāmor bhūkūnā bhāgelāre, māri Hilmal Ḍāmor ne.	"In these days we are wasted by hunger, Oh my Sīdmal."
Kariye Ḍhālka ² paḍāiye-Hāṇre.	"Make preparations to leave Ḍholka—" Hāṇre.
Aj, Piḃor sālyākānī sālyāre māri Ḍāmar na hangḍā.	Then, Friends, the band of Ḍāmars set forth and started on their way.
Ḍāmor lelāgrā ³ mārgre-Hāṇre.	The Ḍāmars (took) a wild forest road—Hāṇre.
Ḍāmor gagan uḍe khehane ⁴ -Mārā, etc.	The dust (raised by the band) rose up into the sky—Mārā, etc.
Ḍāmor kāmāṭhiyā ne tāke-Hāṇre.	The (weary) Ḍāmars leant ⁵ upon their bows—Hāṇre.
Aj Ḍāmor bhūkūnī bhablati ⁶ re māri Hidmal Ḍāmor ne.	All the Ḍāmars were hungry, (even) Sīdmal Ḍāmar was faint,
Ḍāmor Kadeli ⁶ dungre-Hāṇre.	The Ḍāmars (at last reached) the Kadeli hill-Hāṇre.
Aj, Piḃor, āḍā ne phūryā sere māri Nālūnā Narhingḍā.	Then, Friends, Nārsingh, son of Nālu, encountered them.
Māmā anū ne tolūn dhanū-Hāṇre.	(He said) "Oh uncle, I will weigh you out grain and riches"-Hāṇre.
Aj, Piḃor, tākḍiye māṇḍe sere māri Nālūnā Narhingḍā.	Then, Friends, Narsingh, son of Nālu, set up his scales.
Tolya anū ne dhanū—Hāṇre.	And weighed out (to them) grain and wealth—Hāṇre.
Mokhla bhojaniyā baṇāwe-Mārā ⁷ , etc.	Then Mokhla prepared some food for them-Mārā.
Aj Piḃor, jame kānī jamere māri Hidmal Ḍāmor.	All, Friends, then were collected (for dinner) by Sīdmal Ḍāmar.
Sālyā Ḍāmor nā hangḍā-Hāṇre.	Then (after dinner) the band started off-Hāṇre.
Aj Ḍāmor lūnbyā ⁸ kānī lūnbyā ne māri Godariyā serū ⁹ , mān.	Then at length the Ḍāmors reached the town of Godhra.
Ḍāmor Pānimiya ¹⁰ . talāwu mān-Hāṇre.	They came to the Pānimiya lake-Hāṇre.

1. Ne=belongs to Ḍāmar. 2. Ḍholka, in Gujarāt. Paḍai=to pack up. 3. Lelagra: rough, difficult, jungly. 4. Khehane: dust. 5. Bhablati: lit. giddy, head-turning round. 6. In Gujarāt. 7. The alternative *teh*. 8. Lunbiya: go to, reach. 9. Seru=Shahar, Godhra lies in the Bombay Presidency [22° 48' N., 73° 51' E.] to the west of Jhābua. 10. Panimiya: 22° 50' N., 74° 0' E.

Awyā Odwāla-godwāla 1-Mārā, etc.

Ḍāmor Chanotinā 2-rājū-Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmor lūnbyā kāni lūnbyā ne mārā
Dūdiyā 3 serū mān.

Ḍāmor Welji 4 kerī bāwe-Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmor lūnbiyu lūnbiyu, mārā Hidmal
Ḍāmor ne.

Ḍāmor Sābānā 5 sarowar mān-Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmor sāle kāni sāle re—Mārā, etc.

Ḍāmor Dewad 6 nā rājū—Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmor lūnbya kāni lūnbyu re mārā Hidmal
Ḍāmor ne.

Ḍāmor Tāndā 7 ne ṭandūle-Hānre.

Ḍāmar āyā kāni āyāre mārā Raṅbhāpur 8 nā
rājū.

Ḍāmor Māchhalyā 9 kerī nāl mān-Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmor lūnbyu kāni lūnbyu re mārā Hidmal
Ḍāmor ne.

Ḍāmor ghāṇṭā ne ghaṭaliye-Hānre.

Aj Piyor, lūnbyo kāni lūnbyo re mārā Ḍāmor
nā hāngdā.

Wālo, Rājgaṇḍā rāj mān-Hānre.

Aj, Piyor, āwe kāni āwe re—Mārā, etc.

Utre Mayiyārī ne āre-Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmar ayo kāni āyore mārā Kulkiyā 10 rāj
mān.

Wālo, Hagwāl 11 kera rāj mān-Hānre.

Aj Piyor, lūnbiyo lūnbiyore mārā Hilor 12 nā rāj
mān.

Aj Ḍāmor kul rangī Dhārū 13 mān-Hānre.

Āwe kāmāṭhiyā ne ṭeke mārā Hidmal Ḍāmar
ne.

Dekhe Rājā to Bhoja ne-Hānre.

They reached (the village) of Odwāla-godwāla-
Mārā, etc.

(Then) the Ḍāmors came to the district of
Chanoti-Hānre.

Thus (at length) the Ḍāmors reached the
city of Dudiya.

The Ḍāmors (reached) Welji's well-Hānre.

There arrived thus Hidmal Ḍāmor (at
last).

So the Ḍāmors came to the lake of Sabana-
Hānre.

So the Ḍāmors went ever on their way-
Mārā.

The Ḍāmors came to the district of Dohad-
Hānre.

Thus did my Sidmal arrive there.

So the Ḍāmors came to a Banjāra encampment-
Hānre.

Thus came the Ḍāmors to the district of
Raṅbhāpur.

Then the Ḍāmors came to the pass of Machhalya-
Hānre.

So the Ḍāmors and my Sidmal at last arrived.

The Ḍāmors came at length to the passes—
Hānre.

Then, Friends, the Ḍāmor band arrived here.

Friends, (they came) to the kingdom of Rājgarh-
Hānre.

So, Friends, they arrived at length-Hānre.

(And) crossed to the (other) bank of the
Mahi (river)-Hānre.

Then came the Ḍāmors to the district of Kulki-
ya.

(Then) Friends, to the district of Sagwāl-Hānre.

So Friends, they reached at last the district of
Silor.

Next (came) the Ḍāmors to lovely Dhār-Hānre.

Came my Hidmal Ḍāmor (weary) leaning on his
bow.

Rājā Bhoja saw him coming-Hānre.

1. Odwāla-godwāla : a village (?). 2. Chanotinā : village (?). 3. Dudiya : village (?). 4. Welji : man
or place (?). 5. Sabana : village (?). 6. Dewad : Dohad [22° 50' N. 76° 19' E.]. 7. Tāndā : 22° 53' N.,
71° 30' E., or else a banjāra camp which is its meaning. cf. Mar : tāndā, a band or company of people. 8. Ra-
bhāpur : 22° 55' N., 71° 33' E., in Jhābua State. 9. Machhalya : a pass in Jhābua State (22° 45' N., 75° 50' E.).
10. Kulkiya (?), a village. 11. Hagwāl=Sagwāl (22° 38' N., 75° 1' E.). 12. Hilor=Silor (Chiler of maps,
22° 3' N., 75° 15' E.). 13. Dhār (22° 36' N., 75° 19' E.), capital of Bhār State.

"Aj Dudā hāmā no tūn ri-jere¹ mārā, Dudātūn Vajir ne."

Awyā Dāmōr nā hangdā-Hānre.

Hānre Dudā kādyu kāni kādyure mārā kāludā ghoḍo nā.

Dūdo ghoḍilo bhiḍe re-Hānre.

Aj Dūdo hāt mān lido sere mārā Gangajal bhālā ne.

Dūdo ghoḍilā chalāḍe-Hānre.

Aj Piyor thobyā kāni thobyāre mārā Dāmōr nā hangdā.

Dūdo pūṣṇā to pūṣne-Hānre.

Aj Piyor bolyā kāni bolyāne mārā hawāho Dāmōr ne.

Awya menat majūriye-Hānre.

Aj Dāmōr ane ne tolūse ane ne dhanū ne.

Waho² Khelanji kheḍā mān-Hānre.

Hānre Dūdo agāḍi hoyo sere-Mārā, etc.

Batāḍe hīma to heḍā³ ne-Hānre.

Aj Dāmōr khūsi bhālō huwo-Mārā.

Bānde jarnā jhūḍā-Hānre.

Hānre Dūdo āle kāni āle re māre anū ne dhanū ne.

Mangalji anū tole dhanū-Hānre.

Aj Dāmōr biyū bhālā lāwere māri Hidmal Dāmōr ne.

Barasyā Kalurānā Megh ne-Hānre.

Aj Dāmōr khāya khūshi kare-Mārā.

Ninde Mokhal Dāmōr nā-Hānre.

Aj wālā pākī bhālā gayā mārā Hidmal Dāmōr nā.

Wālā wāḍwā lāgā ne-Hānre.

Aj Piyor, jōḍī nā bolyā sere mārā hawāho Dāmōr ne.

Dāmōr dāna bhālā walyā-Hānre.

Seth bharwā bhālā āyā-Mārā, etc.

Dāmōr dhānu ne bharāwe-Hānre.

Aj Seth bhari ne gher gyāre-Mārā.

"Listen" (said Bhoja) "Oh Duda, to my words, listen, Oh Duda, Vajir."

(Behold) a band of Dāmōrs has come-Hānre.

So Duda took out the (well-known) black horse.

Duda saddled up his mare-Hānre.

Then did Duda take his spear "Gangajal" in hand.

Duda spurred on his mare-Hānre.

So, Friends, Duda stopped and halted the band of Dāmōrs-Hānre.

Duda questioned them-Hānre.

Then, Friends, answered the one hundred and twenty-five Dāmōrs.

"With sore trouble have we come (seeking) work."

(Duda said) "I will (give) you grain and wealth weighing it out."

Do you settle in Khelanji village"-Hānre.

So Duda went on in front (of then).

He pointed out to them the boundaries (of the village) and the limits (of the fields).

Then were the Dāmōrs happy and contented-Mārā, etc.

They built huts of bushes-Hānre.

They did Duda give them seed and money.

Mangalji (Seth) weighed out this grain and coin-Hānre.

Then the Dāmōrs and Sidmal Dāmōr too planted the good seed.

And Kalurānā Megh sent rain-Hānre.

And so the Dāmōrs ate and were content-Mārā.

And Mokhal Dāmōr nā weeded (the field)-Hānre.

At length excellent Wālā ripened, for Sidmal Dāmōr.

He began to cut the Wālā-Hānre.

Then, Friends, the crowd of Dāmōrs, spoke among themselves.

"(So) a good day has come for the Dāmōrs--" Hānre.

The Seth came and removed the food (grain).

The Dāmōrs gave him over the grain-Hānre.

So loading up (the grain) the Seth went home.

1. Ri-jere=rahna. 2. Wāho=waso, i. e., baso. 3. i. e., Sima, Sheda=edge, limit.

Jāya ehhe jhājūnī kamāi-Hānre.

Aj Dāmor soki kare pūlāre-Mārā.

Mangalji bāre barsa-Hānre.

Aj māri Virmāke bāi sere Virmā baniyāni.

Rāṇḍu nā tariyā² to joban jāyase-Hānre.

Virmā kāṅkhūmā sabde sere mārā Hidmal
Dāmar ne.

Rāṇḍ ne mainā ne rayā-Hānre.

Rāṇḍ ne navamo maino jāyase-Mari.

Awī Hījū tūn hajwān-Hānre.

Aj Hījū peṭ ḍalā sole³ sere-Mārā.

Janmyā rājliya bālūḍā-Hānre.

Aj kuṇwar ḍhola mān ḍhavale sere-Mārā, etc.

Kuṇwar mālūna moṭiyar-Hānre.

Aj Mangalji gherule ālyose-Mārā.

Bole nagari kerā logne-Hānre.

Aj Mangalji kuṇwar do huwāse-Mārā.

Aj pūse dhaṇi dhaṇiyāni ne-Hānre.

Aj Piyor laḍkā kākūnā huwā sere māri laḍuni
dhaṇiyāni.

Laḍkā moṭānā hoyāse-Hānre.

Aj Mangalji doḍyo dhāmyo jāyase-Mārā.

Saḍi gyo Dhārni kaseḍiyān-Hānre.

Aj Piyor, pokāre baṇawe sere Mangalji baṇyo.

Paḍyā Mangalji nā ijjatḍā-Hānre.

Aj dhaṇi bole kāni bolere māro gelo Rājā Bhoja to.

Karo nagārno⁴ ḍanko-Hānre.

Aj Dūdo saḍyo kāni saḍyore-Mārā.

Gheryo Dāmor nā hāṅḍā-Hānre.

Dāmor Hidmal laḍese-Mārā.

Dāmor āḍā māri nākhyā-Hānre.

Dāmor mor bāṇḍhiyāne bāṇḍhyā-Mārā.

Bhāgyā Khelanji khedā ne-Hānre.

Aj Dūdo gāyūn kāni gyūnre māro Dūdo Vajir ne.

Gyo Dhār ne darwāje-Hānre.

He went away to trade in ships-Hānre.

Then the Dāmors kept and stored the rest-
Mārā.

For twelve (long years) was Mangalji away-
Hānre.

So (he left behind his wife) the lady Virma,
Virma, the baniya's wife.

The woman's youth was thus passing away like
a widow.

Virma (at length yielding) went and lived with
Hidmal Dāmor (as his wife).

The woman became with child-Hānre.

So her nine months were fulfilled-Mārā, etc.

Came Hiju, the midwife-Hānre.

Then she rubbed and massaged (Virma's) stomach.

And (two) princely sons were born-Hānre.

Then the princes were swung in a crib-Mārā.

(In time) they grew big enough to walk-Hānre.

At last Mangalji came home again-Mārā.

The city and village folk (at once) cried to him-
Hānre.

"Oh Mangalji, (know you) that you have two
sons."

Then did the husband question the wife-Hānre.

"Beloved, dear wife, of whom are these boys? "

"They are (she said) the sons of a great man—"
Hānre.

Then Mangalji running and speeding went off-
Mārā.

He went to the law court in Dhār (city)-Hānre.

Then, Friends, Mangalji the bania called aloud
for justice.

"The honor of Mangalji is gone"-Hānre.

Then (hearing him) the master, great king Bhoja,
spoke.

"(Duda) sound the kettle-drums-Hānre.

Then Duda arose and marched forth.

So (Duda) surrounded the Dāmar band-Hānre.

And Sidmal met him in the field-Mārā.

So half the Dāmors were slain-Hānre.

The hands (of the other half) he bound behind
their backs.

And destroyed Khelanji village-Hānre.

Then did Duda, Duda the Wazir, start and go
(home).

So came to the gates of Dhār-Hānre.

1, Kamāi=beipari. 2, Tariyā=woman. 3, Sole=chole from cholana, to rub hard. 4, Nagārno=nakāra.

Ḍāmor māri ne gūrd karyā re-Mārā.

Dūdo kaḍiyā bolāwo-Hānre.

Aj, Piyor, āwyā kānī āwyā re mārā hawāho kaḍiyā.

Ḍāmar jiwata rūḍa saṇyā¹-Hānre.

Aj Ḍāmar saṇī kānī didāre Bāwriyā kotūmān.

Maṅgalji khushi bhālo huwo-Hānre.

Aj Virmā doḍi dhāmī sālive, mārī Virmā baṇiyānī.

Jāyase bhāiyānā gherū mān-Hānre.

Aj Piyor, Kasūmar,² Khoklio mārā joḍina laḍ-
kāne.

Kasūmar vidhya bawnāwa sāliyo-Hānre.

Aj, Piyor, doḍyo dhāmyo jāyase re māre Kamrū
dhartī mān.

Utre Kshiprā nadī-Hānre.

Aj dhaṇī gayo kānī gayo ne mārā Ratna nā ghorāl
mān.

Kasūmar vidhyā bhaṇāwā lāgo-Hānre.

Aj dhaṇī bhaṇī kānī gayo sere bāre kānī vidhyā.

Ratnā ghāṇī mān kheḍe-Hānre.

Aj dhaṇī gher jāwānā mansūbā kare-Mārā.

Ratnā saḍigī Indrāhaṇ mān-Hānre.

Aj Kasūmar nāhawāne lāgo-Mārā.

Lidī vidhyānī kothālī-Hānre.

[Here the metre undergoes a change.]

Kasūmar sāli bhālo nikalyo-Re Dehariyā (Tek).

Dewa māro Dhār mān āyose-Re Dehariyā.

Ayo Indrāiyā bāgū mān-Re, etc.

Baṇī gyo jayadhārī jogḍo-Re.

Dewa māro dhūṇiye dhakāwe-Re.

Dhaṇī māro ādi rāt ne samīye-Re.

Sole aṅg rūḍī mole-Re.

Baṇayo Batwo ūḍaro-Re.

Baṇāwī Himālī nāgaṇ-Re.

Uḍaro bhaṇāwī ledosi-Re.

Melyā Bādaliyā melā mān-Re.

Uḍaro khāt³ rūḍo pāḍe-Re.

Pāsāl Himālī nāgaṇ-Re.

(He cried) "I have slain and uprooted the
Dāmors"-Mārā.

"Call (said Bhoja) masons here"-Hānre.

Then there came, came (from all sides) one hun-
dred and twenty-five masons.

The Dāmors were bricked up securely-Hānre.

So the Dāmors were (walled up) in the fort of
Bawriyā.

And Maṅgalji rejoiced exceedingly-Hānre.

And Virmā, our Virmā, the baniya's wife, went
away, running, and hastening.

Went off to her brother's house-Hānre.

Friends, Kachumar and Khoklia, were the name
of the two boys.

So Kachumar went off to gain learning (or magic)-
Hānre.

So hastening and hurrying, Friends, he went to
the land of Kamru.

He crossed the Kshiprā river-Hānre.

So the lord (Kachumar) went (and dwelt) at the
house of Ratna.

And Kachumar commenced to learn magic-Hānre.

Then lord (Kachumar) learnt the twelve (kinds of)
magic.

Ratna (by a spell, however) yoked him to an oil-
mill (as an ox).

Then the lord (Kachumar) longed to return home.

Ratna (one day) went to Indra's heaven-Hānre.

Upon this Kachumar fled away-Hānre.

And took with him the bag of magic (books and
simples)."

1. Sanyā=H, chunayā, i. e., arranged, built up. 2. Kasūmar, a local god, apparently a deified Bhil of
the Kundwala sept. 3. Khāt=kat.

Nāgaṇ palang dholama-Re.
Huti ¹. Himāl kunwari-Re.
Nāgaṇ sōṇṭle ². saḍwā lāg-Re.

Dasī ṭasī tūṇ āngliye-Re.
Pelān ³. nākhūṇ saḍyā bakhū ⁴-Re.
Paḍī nagari mān būmase-Re.
Awyā nagri, kerā log-Re.
Beḍiyā ⁵. bolāwī lidāse-Re.
Bole gelo Rājā Bhoja-Re.
Kunwārī dharmen ⁶. ne parāṇwūṇ-Re.
Bakḍo nahīn ne walyo ⁷. walyo-Re.
Dokḍī Indrārī bāgū mān-Re.
Pūse Kasūmar Kundwāla-Re.
Dokri sānī paḍī būm-Re.
Mari Himāle kunwari-Re.
Dokri hāṇmal ⁸. māri bāt-Re.
Jaje gelo Rājā Bhoja-Re.
Awaje wānū to wastre-Re.
Awaje anwāne pagū-Re.
Lāwajo Dūḍo Wajirne-Re.
Lāwajo huṇū tūṇ pālkhī-Re.

(SPOKEN PROSE.)

Hamū hukkā piye tukā piye, hagiye, mūtriye tīno
mān gumān rākhenī. Terā hānarā sāle maṇṭra
jaṇṭra.

Awe gelo Rājā Bhoja-Re.
Awe huṇānī pālkhī-Re.
Kasūmar kūḍī rūḍo beṭho-Re.
Awe Bādliyā melā mān-Re.
Maṇṭra bhaṇawā lāgyo-Re.
Nāgaṇ koṭū ne kāngre ⁹-Re.

Nāgaṇ mangāḍī ledī-Re.
Nāgaṇ soṭaḍī dedī-Re.
Bakhḍo sūhī ¹⁰. kānī lidā-Re.
Himāl beṭhī ruḍī huwī-Re.
Khushi hoyo getelo Rājā Bhoja-Re.
Khushi huwī Bijārā rānī-Re.
Kare lila pila bānsī ¹¹ Re.
Māngāḍyā korāre kalaha-Re.

The snake wandered round the bed-Re.
(On which) slept the princess Himāl-Re.
The snake began to climb up by the braid of her
hair-Re.
And (then) bit her on the little finger-Re.
(The) poison went in at her nail-Re.
Lamentation sounded throughout the city-Re.
Together came all the folk of city and village-Re.
They summoned and brought all the doctors-Re.
Then spoke beloved Rājā Bhoja-Re.
“I swear to marry (her curer) to the princess.”
(They) could not stop the poison by spells-Re.
An old beldame (went) to the Indrārī garden-Re
Asked Kachumar-Kundwala of her-Re.
“Old woman, what noise is that?”
“Princess Himālī is dead” (she said)-Re.
(He said) “Beldame marks well my words”-Re.
“Go, pray, to Rājā Bhoja”-Re.
(And say) come (before me) unclad.”
“Come with unshod feet”-Re.
“Bring also Duda Wazīr (with you)”-Re.
“Bring also the golden Pālki”-Re.

I will smoke, etc., before him as if (in my own
home) in privacy, so will my charms be
efficacious.

Then came noble Rājā Bhoja-Re.
Came also the golden Pālki-Re.
Kachumar sprang lightly into it and sat there-Re.
(They) came to the Bādaliya palace-Re.
He began to recite incantations-Re.
The snake was (lying) on the fort's battlements-
Re.
He (thus) summoned the snake-Re.
He put the snake's mouth to the wound-Re.
(The snake) sucked out the poison-Re.
Himālī sat up cured-Re.
Pleased was noble Rājā Bhoja-Re.
Overjoyed was Bijārā Rānī-Re.
Preparations for the marriage were made-Re.
Sent for new water-pots-Re.

1. Huti=soti. 2. Sōṇṭle=chōṇṭī. There is a superstition that no snake can climb up a bedstead, hence but for the braid of hair hanging down the princess would have been safe. 3. Pelān=her (bed). 4. Bakhū=vish. 5. Beḍiyā=vaidya. 6. Dharmen=by my religion, i. e., I swear, or else may mean free of (bride-price), but the former meaning is best here. 7. Walyo=H. warna, to avert, ward off. 8. Hāṇmal=sambhāl, i. e., attend to, mark. 9. Kāngre=(?) P. kangarah or H. kandār. 10. Sūhī=chusi. 11. Kare, etc., idiomatic expression for a hasty wedding in which coloured bamboos are used for the Mandapa.

Kasūmar pyaṇetūn¹ · baṇāwe-Re.
Dewā māro phera rūḍa phere-Re.

Baṇi gyā dhaṇi ne dhaṇiyāṇi-Re.
Bole Dūdo to wajir ne-Re.
Hāmāl gehelo Rājā Bhoja ne-Re.
Hunpo² Hunago bachhero-Re.
Hāmro³ lādūna⁴ hāhara⁵ -Re.
Lāwo Indariyā palān-Re.
Lāwo honāni lagāmo-Re.
Kasūmar bhonyarā⁶ mān utre-Re.
Kāḍyo Honago bachhero-Re.
Ghoḍo bhiḍi bhalo ledō-Re.
Inī ādi rāt ne same-Re.
Bhūmī aswār bhalo huwo-Re.

Ghoḍo Bādliya melā mīn-Re.
Kunwarī ne bolāwī lidise-Re.
Lūnbyo ghoḍi tūn darwāje-Re.
Poliyā pol ne ugāḍje ne-Re.
Hun se gehelo Rājā Bhoja ne-Re.
Pole ugāḍi didi-Re.
Poliyā lānbo hāt karo-Re.

Tane aelāmo⁷ alūsu-Re.
Hath wāḍi bhalo lido-Re.
Ki je Rājā rūḍi Bhoja ne-Re.
Wāliya⁸ bāpindā beruse-Re.
Ghoḍo bābre-dāda no-Re.
Kunwarī beru mīn pyānyo⁹ se-Re.
Ghoḍo uḍāmā māre se-Re.
Ghoḍo Maīyārī ne āri se-Re.

Lūnbiyo Gaje Kunwar¹⁰ -Re.
Ayo Kānkara Bharadi-Re.
Lunbiyo Patlāwad¹¹ nā rājūna-Re.
Lunbiyo Khawāsānā¹² rājū-Re.
Lunbiyo Sarwato pāṭan-Re.
Lunbiyo Lilāgar¹³ ḍungre-Re.
Kasūmar ḍungar saḍi gayo-Re.

So Kachūmar carried out his wedding.
The god circumambulated (the fire) as was fitting-Re.

So became they man and wife-Re.
Then spake Dūda Wazīr-Re.
“Hear, Oh Rājā Bhoja, the good”-Re.
“Make over to him the colt Sunaga.”
(Kachūmar said) “Hear, dear father-in-law”-Re.
“Bring the Indariya saddle”-Re.
“Bring the golden bridle”-Re.
Down to the stable went Kachūmar-Re.
Brought out the colt Sunaga-Re.
Saddled up securely his mount-Re.
It was then the hour of midnight-Re.
Clear from the ground he sprang into the saddle-Re.

Brought the horse up to the Bādliya palace-Re.
Called the princess, and took her (up)-Re.
So the mare reached the (city) gate-Re.
Kachūmar cried “Doorkeeper, open the gate.”
“I am the beloved Rājā Bhoja”-Re.
(The gatekeeper) threw open the doors-Re.
“Hold out your hand, gatekeeper” (he cried)-Re.

“I will give you a reward”-Re.
Then Kachūmar cut his hand clean off-Re.
“Go, tell (he cried) that noble Rājā Bhoja-Re.
“I am revenged on my father’s enemy”-Re.
“(I have recovered) my grandfather’s horse”-Re.
“In revenge have I married the princess”-Re.
His horse bounded (into the air)-Re.
At length (he and) his steed reached the Mahī’s bank.

Came to (the hill) of Gaje Kunwar-Re.
Came to (the shrine) of Kankara Bharadi.
Came to the district of Petlawad-Re.
Came to the district of Khawasana-Re.
Came to the city of Sarwa.
Came to the hill of Lilagar-Re.
Climbed on to the top of Kachūmar’s hill-Re.

1. Pyaṇetun=paraniyane. 2. Hunpo=sonpo. 3. Hāmro=hamlo=sambhal, attend to, mark.
4. Lāduna=lād-una. H. lād. 5. Hāhara=susra. 6. Bhonyarā lit. “ground rooms.” The stables were under the dwelling rooms. 7. Aelāmo=inām, a corruption. 8. Wāliya=badla. 9. Pyānyo=biyah. 10. Gaje Kunwar is a hill near Umarkot (22° 47' N., 75° 53' E.). 11. Petlāwad in Indore State (23° 1' N., 74° 50' E.). 12. Khawāsā, in Jhābua (23° 7' N., 74° 45' E.). 13. A hill in Khusālgarh State, Rājputāna.

Dungar khohi bhalo ldo-Re.
Māra Sandiyā Gandiyā, bhūt-Re. }
Bādh bhari phenyā-Re. }
Paḍya ḍungarnī bhintū mān-Re
Khājo pījo mojā mārjo-Re Dehariyā.

{ And at once removed (from it) Sandiya and
Gandiya, demons-Re.
{ Took them in his arms (and) hurled them
forth-Re.
So they fell from summit to base-Re.
Eat, drink, be merry, and rejoice-Re Dehariya.

NO. II.—SONG OF MANOTĀ BHIL.

Manotā here sung of is also a Bhil deity. There is good reason to suppose that he was originally a chief of note in Baria, a state lying on the south-west border of Mālwa in the Bombay Presidency.

Mūliyo to Māli se-Re Dehariyā.
Mārī Mūli to Mālan se-Re,
Inī Dewad do baṇiye-Re.
Kare bāḍī to gowāḍī-Re.
Thāne lila pīra ānbā-Re.
Anbā mālana motiyār ne-Re.
Sope 1. marwā to mogrā-Re.
Sope dāḍam ne dākhe-Re.
Sope khele to khajūr-Re.
Sope sanpo ne sameli-Re.
Mārā hākriyā 2. ānbā-Re.
Dāde 3. nareliyā ānbā-Re.
Baṇāwe bāg ne bagichā-Re.
Phūlyā marwa mogra-Re.
Phūle dāḍam ne dākha-Re.
Phūle kela to khajūr-Re.
Phūle sanpo ne sanpeli-Re.
Anbe phūl bhala lāgi-Re.
Lāgā hindūriyā ānbā-Re.
Mūliyo khāya ne mojā kere-Re.
Mūlan khāya ne majā kare-Re.
Māra Majūto Bariyā-Re.
Tenā kalkaltā kuṇwar-Re.
Baḍo balawati dewa-Re.
Baḍo rihūno janjālū-Re.
Māro Manotā kuṇwar-Re.
Dewa māro Bārānī dharti mān-Re.
Dewa māro āwā bhalo lāgo-Re.
Awe Bariyā no hangḍo-Re.
Hāthe Manotā kuṇwar-Re.
Awe Dewa do baḍiyā-Re.
Awe Manotā kuṇwar-Re.

There was once a gardener Mūli-Re Dehariyā.
There was (also) his wife Māli-Re.
They (dwelt) in Dohad of two borders-Re.
They laid out a fine orchard.
They planted various knads of mango-Re.
The young mangoes grew up-Re.
Planted Marwa and Mogra shrubs-Re.
Planted pomegranates and vines-Re.
Planted plantains and date-palms-Re.
Planted Champa and Chameli-Re
Put in sweet mangoes-Re.
Planted cocoanut-like mangoes-Re.
So was planted the garden and the orchard-Re.
Then flowered the Marwa and Mogra-Re.
Flowered the pomegranates and vines-Re.
Flowered the plantains and date-palms-Re.
Flowered the Champa and Chameli-Re.
Fruit in plenty bore the mangoes-Re.
Minium coloured mangoes hung on the trees-Re.
Mūl eat (of the fruit) and rejoiced-Re.
Muliya eat (also) and was glad.
There lived a Bariya Bhil (called) Majuta-Re.
He had a quarrelsome son-Re.
He was a powerful lord-Re.
He was of hot and violent temper-Re,
Was this prince, Manota (by name) ?-Re.
My lord lived in the land of Bāra-Re.
My lord set gaily forth (on a journey)-Re.
There came a band of Baria (Bhils).
(Came) with prince Manota-Re.
They came to Dohad of two boundaries-Re.
So lord Manota arrived there-Re.

1. Sope=ropna, to plant. 2. Hākriyā=sākriya, sugary. 3. Dāde=(?) gāde.

Awe Mūliyāni bādīye-Re.
Nākhe ¹-bhamerā palitā-Re.

Sabdya ūṇḍe khādo dādya-Re.
Dewa māro manūnā mansūbā-Re.
Pūse Mūliyā māli ne-Re.
Mūliyā wāḍi kunīyo se-Re.
Wāḍi bāpre dādā nī-Re.

Dewa māro bolwā lāgo se-Re.
Wāḍi tāri kānthī āwi-Re.

Wāḍi mārā Bāpdāda ni-Re.
Dewa māro laḍā kāne lese-Re.
Jāyāse Dehāi ne kaseḍiye-Re.
Desai bolwā rūḍo lāgo-Re.
Mūlyā kīm rūḍo āwyo-Re.
Māro Manoto kunwar-Re.
Lese wāḍi ne gowāḍi-Re.
Wāḍi bāpne dādāni-Re.
Bole Manoto kunwar-Re.
Hāmal Dewad nā Dehāi-Re.
Kāḍe bhamyo palitā-Re.
Wāḍi tenī se-Re.
Ayo Dewada no Dehāiḍo-Re.
Ayo Mūliyā nī wāḍiye-Re.
Bole Dewad no Dehāiḍo-Re.
Kūḍ Mūliyā tū māli-Re.
Kāḍo bhamyo ne palitā-Re.
Paritāni ne bhalā nīkalyā-Re.
Kūḍe Manoto kunwarre-Re.
Kāḍya bhamera palitā-Re.
Wāḍi khoḥī rūḍi ledi-Re.

Manota khūsi bhalo buyo-Re.
Dehāiḍo nyāwa rūḍo kere-Re.
Manote wāḍi bhāgi nākhi-Re.
Giyo se Lilāgar ḍungre-Re.
Dewa māro ghorī² en ghorī huwe-Re.

Mayade³ pogūno angoṭho-Re.
Uṭhyo Dāmar Kasūmar-Re.

Came to the garden of Mūli-Re.
Threw down the upper wheel and lower roller (of the well)-Re.
Removed and sank them deep in the pit.
My lord then thought the matter out-Re.
He questioned the gardener Mūli-Re.
“Mūli, whose garden is this?”-Re.
(He said) “It was my father’s and grandfather’s”-Re.
“Then my lord began to speak-Re.
“How came (said he) this garden to be thine?”-Re.
“It was my grandfather’s” (said he)-Re.
Then my lord began to wrangle-Re.
He went off to the Desai’s court-Re.
The Desai began to question fully-Re.
“Mūli, why have you come here?”-Re.
(He replied) “My (lord) Manota”-Re.
“Wrests my garden and orchard (from me)”-Re.
“The garden that was my grandfather’s”-Re.
Then spoke lord Manota-Re.
“Hear, Oh Desai, of Dohad”-Re.
“He who fishes out the Bhamera and Palita”-Re.
“To him shall be the garden”-Re.
Then came the Dohad Desai-Re.
Came to the garden of Mūli-Re.
Then spoke the Desai of Dohad-Re.
“Do thou Mūli gardener spring (into the well)”-Re.
And get up the Bhamera and Palita-Re.
(But) he failed to get up the Palitā-Re.
In sprang lord Manota-Re.
Brought out the Bhamera and Palitā-Re.
He (then) destroyed the garden completely (from Mūli)-Re.
Overjoyed was Manota-Re.
“Oh Desai, (he cried) indeed you gave justice”-Re.
Manota then utterly destroyed the garden-Re.
(Then) he went off to Lilāgar hill-Re.
Here (he found) lord (Kachūmar) snoring loudly-Re.
He twisted the big toe of his foot-Re.
Up sprang Kachūmar Dāmar-Re.

1. Nākhe, to throw down; bury; Bhamera, the upper pulley in the *thala* of a well; Palita, the lower roller. The ropes for the *charṣa* pass over these. 2. Ghorī=Mar : ghorne, to snore. 3. Mayad=H. moda.

Bhāneja kem āwū paḍyū-Re.

Huṇ to biyū lewā āyo-Re.

Bolyo kayḍo¹. Kasūmar-Re.

Alūṇ hīndūriā tūṇ nāreliyā-Re.

Alūṇ kela to khajūr ne-Re.

Alūṇ marwā ne to mogrā-Re.

Alūṇ ḍaḍam kera biyūṇ-Re.

Alūṇ sanṇepeli nā biyūṇ-Re.

Biḷū Dhār nā rājā nā chhe-Re.

Manoto biyūṇ line re āwe-Re.

Lāgya rohāne mārge-Re.

Ayo Dewad do banṇe mān-Re.

Manota kyāra re bhālo bāṇḍhe-Re.

Mūliyo nokar re wā lāgo-Re.

Nākhe hīndūriyā āṇbe-Re.

Khel khajūr ne to nākhe-Re.

Marwā mogrā to nākhe-Re.

Ḍaḍam ḍākhe to nākhe-Re.

Sanṇpo sameli to nākhe-Re.

Wāḍi tyār to kī dī-Re.

Mūliyo pāṇi to sanṇhe-Re.

Manota khāi ne khusal kere-Re.

Kasūmar kāgḍiyā ne bheje-Re.

Kāgad Dharmū ne rājā mān-Re.

Dūdo kāgḍiyā to wāse-Re.

Saḍyo gelo rājā Bhoja ne-Re.

Saḍe geheli hāthaniyo-Re.

Saḍyo Dūdo to wajir ne-Re.

Saḍyā Mughaliyā Paṭhān-Re.

Wāge nagārā nī ghaiyā-Re.

Saḍyā phojū nā dhamkārā-Re.

Dalu lūṇbiyu lūṇbiyu āwe-Re.

Awyā Manoto nī wāḍiyā-Re.

Wāḍiyā bheli² bhali nākhi³-Re.

Wāḍi bhāgi ne bhūkū karyu-Re.

(Dukhā bhāgi ne bhūkū wālyā³ Re.

Manoto Bhawāni ne kanene⁴-Re.

Manoto gaḍino hāṅkwā-Re.

Mārā arthū ādi gayū Re.

Dewa gāḍi ne hāṅko-Re.

Manoto dhare ruḍo bethā-Re.

Manoto "ki kiyāri" re kare-Re.

(And cried) "Oh son of my sister, why camest thou hither?"-Re.

"I have come to get seed from you"-Re.

Then answered Kachūmar roughly-Re.

I will give you minium coloured cocoanut-Re.

I will give you plantains and date-palms-Re.

I will give you Marwa and Mogra-Re.

Seeds of pomegranates will I give-Re.

Seeds of Chameli will I give-Re.

These seeds come from the Rājā of Dhār.

Manota took the seeds and returned-Re.

Took the jungle path-Re.

Came to the boundaries of Dohad-Re.

Excellent beds did Manota prepare-Re.

Appointed Mūli his servant-Re.

He planted minium coloured mangoes-Re.

Planted plantains and date-palms-Re.

Planted Marwa and Mogra-Re.

Planted pomegranates and vines-Re.

Planted Champa and Chameli-Re.

So did he make his garden-Re.

And Muliyo watered it with water-Re.

Manota eat of (its fruit) and was pleased-Re.

And Kachūmar sent a letter-Re.

Sent a letter to the Rājā of Dhār-Re.

Duda read the letter-Re.

So Rājā Bhoja mounted-Re.

Mounted a fine female elephant-Re.

And Duda Wazir also mounted-Re.

His Mughals and Pathāns also mounted-Re.

The kettle-drums made a deafening noise-Re.

The tramp of his army reached (sounded) far-Re.

The army marched and marched-Re.

Came to Manota's garden-Re.

Destroyed thoroughly that garden-Re.

Completely broke up the garden-Re.

So should your pains be removed-Re.

Manota (went) and lived near (the shrine) of Bhawāni-Re.

Here he had to drive a cart (for the goddess)-Re.

My wheel stuck (in the mud)-Re.

But the god drove on my cart-Re.

Manota came and sat on the pole-Re.

He shouted "ki ki"-Re.

1. Kayḍo=kadwa, bitter, rough, sharp. 2. Bheli bhali=lit: good and well. 3. Said to the audience.

4. Kane=near.

Gāḍiye haḍḍi ¹. ne sālī-Re.
Bhāgyā duniyā kerā dukhū-Re.
Dukhū bhāgi ne bhūkā kīdā-Re.
Khājo piḷo mojo mārjo-Re Dehariyā.

And the cart went on at once-Re.
So may the world's ills fly away-Re.
Ills fly away and be destroyed-Re.
Eat, drink, rejoice, and be merry-Re Dehariyā.

NO. III.—THE LAY OF NARSINGH BHIL.

Aj ine ine range re rabalā devūn vedvūn,
Ae deharā deharāno melāwo-Re Dehariyā. }

I bow to every deity and worship them in
many temples-Re.

Māro Nālu nā Narhīng-Re Dehariyā.
Teḍe Halūṇo soriye-Re.

My Narsingh, son of Nālu-Re Dehariyā.
Asked Salun to (join in) thieving-Re.

Halūṇ dham kāryo ne awe-Re.

And Salun came hastening-Re.

Awyo Nārhiṅg nā darwāje-Re.

Came to the door of Narsingh-Re.

Baṇī gṛā mānmā ne bhānej-Re.

Joined them his uncle's and sister's sons-Re.

Salo sori ne karwā jāiye-Re.

So they went forth to commit theft-Re.

Nārhiṅg sakaniyā ne mānge-Re.

And Narsingh consulted omens-Re.

Dabī Kāgḍī bole se-Re.

On the left hand a crow croaked-Re.

Jamaṇī Rūpārel bole se-Re.

On the right a Ruparel called-Re.

Nārhiṅg sālī ne bhalā nikaliyā-Re.

So Narsingh (thus) assured started-Re.

Hāthe Hālūṇa soriye-Re.

With him (went) Salu to steal-Re.

Jayase Dharūnī ². soriye-Re.

They went Dhār-wards to steal-Re.

Ledā lelagrā margu-Re.

They followed a jungle road-Re.

Awyā Dewad do baṇiyā-Re.

Came to Dohad (city) of two borders-Re.

Walo Raṇbhāpur ³. nā rāju-Re.

Came to the district of Raṇbhāpur-Re.

Lūṇbiyo Māchhaliyā ⁴. kerī gāle-Re.

Reached the pass of Machhaliya-Re.

Sālyo Rajgāḍ ⁵. nā rājūn-Re.

Came to the district of Rājgarh-Re.

Leda Mayīāri nā ār-Re.

Came to the Mahi's bank-Re.

Walyā Sardārpur ⁶. nā rājūn-Re.

Came to the district of Sardārpur-Re.

Nārhiṅg dham kārā ne māre-Re.

(So) Narsingh hastened on-Re.

Ledā Morgām ⁷. nā rājūn-Re.

Seized the district of Morgaon-Re.

Lūṇbiyo Gāhiye ḍūngre-Re.

Reached the hills of Gahia-Re.

Khāṇe Dūḍī kera okhad-Re.

Dug up the (potent) herb Dudi-Re.

Sare Dharū kerī doriyān-Re.

(Here) grazed the cattle of Dhār-Re.

Mārā hawā-ho guwāliyā-Re.

One hundred and twenty-five herdsmen (watched them)-Re.

Nārhiṅg okhadiyā ne ghole-Re.

Then Narsingh mixed the juice of the (Dudi) herb
(in the tanks)-Re.

Mare Dok ne Paḍan-Re.

The Dok and Paḍan (fishes) died-Re.

Dekhe hawā ho gowāliyā-Re.

This the hundred and twenty-five herdsmen saw-Re.

Gowāliyā māchhlī rūḍo pakḍe-Re.

The herdsmen began to catch the large fish-Re.

Nākhe Gulwel nā welā-Re.

They cast (into the water leaves of) the Gulwel
creeper (as an antidote)-Re.

1. Haddī=suddenly, all at once. 2. Dhār-wards: Dhār is capital now of a small Marāṭhā State, but was in early days the capital of the Paramāra kingdom of Mālwa. 3. Raṇbhāpur: now in Jhābua State (22° 55' N., 74° 32' E.). 4. Māchhaliyā: a pass in Jhābua (22° 45' N., 75° 50' E.). 5. Rājgāḍ in Gwalior (22° 40' N., 74° 59' E.). 6. Sardārpur: in Gwalior (22° 40' N., 75° 1' E.). 7. Morgāma in Gwalior (22° 38' N., 75° 10' E.).

Baṇī gya Nāgori bamaṇ-Re.

Hālūṇ pūchhaṇā rūḍā pūchhe-Re.

Hāmlo jhoṇṭ ne kaloḍo 1.-Re.

Tamūhūṇ ne rūḍī saro 2.-Re.

Māra deh māṇ jhīnjhwo³ ghaṇo-Re.

Tamū jhīnjhwo rūḍo sarjo ne-Re.

Amū dūd rūḍā kāhūṇ-Re.

Hāmlo Nāgori bāmuṇ-Re.

Tamū dud khāo ke gosh khāho-Re.

Baiyo Nāgori bāmuṇ-Re.

Kaloḍe hāine bāṇḍī līdī-Re.

Utre Gāhiye ḍungre-Re.

Salyā lelagrā, mārg-Re.

Leda Amjharā⁴ nā rājū-Re.

Awyā Alitū-rājpur⁵-Re.

Awyā Kaleḍe tu ḍungre-Re.

Bāḍiye Khandāri khoh māṇ-Re.

Lāwe Nūrū kerā wāṇkdā⁶-Re.

Lūṇje jhoṭūṇ ne kaleḍore-Re.

Jhoṇṭe wāṇkdā ne rūḍa toḍe Re.

Phāḍyā Nawa-teri ḍungre-Re.

Nārhiṅg doḍwā bhalo lāgo-Re.

Paḍī giye Kuṇḍātī nadi māṇ-Re.

Baṇī gye Ḍok ne Paḍaṇ-Re.

Rame Kuṇḍātī nadi māṇ-Re.

Nārhiṅg pālā ne rūḍā bāṇḍe-Re.

Pālo phoḍī ne bhalā nākhyā-Re.

Māryo pusḍāno uḍāḍo-Re.

Uḍyo dūdāna saḍākā-Re.

Nārhiṅg saṇṭā⁷ salo giyo-Re.

Tini koḍe rūḍiye baṇī-Re.

Nārhiṅg koḍiyālo ne baṇiyo-Re.

Mātā paḍī ne pāye lāgūṇ-Re. }

Mātā gelo ne batāḍo-Re. }

Lāwaje Gujrātī Bāmuṇyā-Re.

Karje aṭhoṇṭhar tīrth-Re.

Tāri koḍe galijā-Re.

(Meanwhile the thieves) disguised themselves as
Nagor Brāhmans-Re.

Salu (then) sweetly addressed (the cattle)-Re.

"Hear me, buffaloes and heifers"-Re.

"Would you feed well?"-Re.

"In my village are quantities of Jhinjhwa
(grass)"-Re.

"And (there) you would eat sweet Jhinjhwa"-Re.

"We would eat (your) sweet milk"-Re.

"Hear, Oh Nagor Brāhmans," said the cattle-Re.

"Is it milk (in truth) or flesh you would eat?"-Re.

(They replied) friends, (are we not) Nagor Brāh-
mans?

(When they came up) they seized, bound, and took
away the heifers-Re.

Descended the hills of Gahia-Re.

Followed the jungle road-Re.

Took (the road) to the district of Amjhera-Re.

Came to Ali-Rājpur-Re.

(There) went to the hill of Kaleda-Re.

Tied them up in the Khandāri valley Re.

Brought fibre of Nura to bind them-Re.

Bound the heifers by the feet-Re.

But the cattle easily broke the ropes-Re.

Fled in all directions over the Nawa-teri hill-Re.

Narsingh ran fast after them-Re.

Plunged (the cattle) into the Kuṇḍatī river-Re.

All became Ḍok and Paḍan fishes-Re.

Sporting in the Kuṇḍatī river-Re.

Narsingh (now) erected a dam-Re.

(The cattle) completely broke down the dam-Re.

(And becoming again cattle) lashed the river
with their tails-Re.

Uprose a shower of milk-Re.

Narsingh was splashed with it-Re.

And (at once) his body was covered with leprosy-Re.

So Narsingh became a leper-Re.

{ (He prayed) Oh dear mother, I fall at thy feet.

{ "Shew me a way (to become whole)-Re.

(The goddess said) "Join the Gujarātī Brāh-
mans-Re.

Visit, pray, seventy-two shrines-Re.

(Then) thy leprosy will vanish-Re.

1. Kaloḍo=heifer. 2. Saro=H. charna, to graze. 3. Or very dense jhinjhwa grass near some hills.

4. Amjharā: Amjhera in Gwalior (22° 34' N., 75° 10' E.). 5. Ali-Rājpur, capital of State of this name (22° 11' N., 74° 24' E.). 6. Wāṇkdā=H. wāk=integuments of a filamentous nature. 7. Saṇṭā=chhintā.

Hūn hen Kālkānī bhenso-Re.
Nārhiṅg haṅḍā baṇāye-Re.
Baṇiygā bāmūn nā haṅḍā-Re.

Nārhiṅg tīrth karwā sāliyā-Re.
Haṅḍā lūnbiyo nā lūnbiyo āwe-Re.
Awyā Raṇiyālā rājū mān-Re.
Sāmunda pusnā puse-Re.

Bāmūnu kuno seyo haṅḍā-Re.
Nārhiṅg nā haṅḍo-Re.
Sāmunda hīdā¹ ne ālyā bādā-Re.
Sāmunda satri² to isāraṇa-Re.
Baṇyā batri to bhojan-Re.
Nārhiṅg bhojan rūḍā jame-Re.
Dhāle hīṅḍālūao dholyo-Re.
Bānthre reshmī godāḍa-Re.
Nārhiṅg hui³ ne bhalā gayo-Re.
Sāmunda ne kākhūmā sabdyā sere-Re.
Sāmunda nā jobaniyā lūṭiyose-Re.
Tenā aodānū⁴ baṇyā se-Re.
Aṇyā kelū ne keraḍhūmiyā⁵-Re.
Dhūmiā soḍū mān sūwādyā-Re.
Nārhiṅg haṅḍo lī nenāṭho-Re.
Sāmunda martārai parai kapḍā-Re.
Ledī Kastūrī ghoḍiye-Re.
Hoigī bhūmī ne aswāre-Re.
Sāmunda āḍā rūḍā pūriyā-Re.
Gheriyo Nārhiṅg no haṅḍā-Re.

Boli Raṇiyari Sāmunda-Re.
Randwā hūn ne nāme pāhūn-Re.
Soro Virkhetliyo-Re.
Sori Virālikhetli-Re.
Sāmunda pāsā pharī āwyo-Re.
Sāmunda maino ne samāle ne-Re.
Maino aṭhmo nawamo sāle-Re.

Sāmunda ne peṭ mān dūkhe-Re.
Bolāwe Hajaṇā hūnwānī-Re.
Magaḍe kāsī⁶ ghaṇī⁷ nā telu-Re.
Meliyā unnā ṭhaṇḍā paṇī-Re.

We are the cattle of Kālīka-Re.
(So) Narsingh collected a band of his tribe-Re.
Collected [another] band of [Nāgor] Brāh-
mans-Re.

Narsingh [then] started on his pilgrimage-Re.
The bands journeying [also] went [with him]-Re.
They came to the district of Raniyala-Re.
[There] Chāmunda [the goddess] questioned
them-Re.

"Oh Brāhmans, whose band is this?"-Re.
"The band of Narsingh" [they answered]-Re.
And Chāmunda brought supplies-Re.
Chāmunda [prepared] sixty-three dishes-Re.
Made ready [another] thirty-two kinds of food-Re.
Narsingh eat all the dishes-Re.

A scarlet bedstead was set out-Re.
[On it] was laid a silken quilt-Re.
And on it Narsingh slept well.
Chāmunda consorted with him-Re.
He robbed Chāmunda of her virginity-Re.
He caused her to become pregnant-Re.
He fetched a plantain stalk-Re.

Put the stem by her side-Re.
(Then) Narsingh taking his band fled-Re.
Swiftly Chāmunda dressed-Re.
Brought out the mare Kasturi-Re.
Sprang from the ground into the saddle-Re.
Stoutly placed herself across (their) road-Re.
Confronted (lit : surrounded) Narsingh's (whole)
band-Re.

(Then) spoke Chāmunda of Raniyala-Re.
"Wretch, what name is (the child) to bear?" Re.
"If a son, (he answered) Virkhetliā"-Re.
"If a girl, Virālikhetli-Re.

(Then) Chāmunda turned back home-Re.
And so Chāmunda reckoned up the months-Re.
And the eighth (and then) the ninth month came-
Re.

Pains came in Chāmunda's womb-Re.
Sajana, the midwife, was called-Re.
She obtained fresh oil from the mill-Re.
Mixed it with cool water-Re.

1. Hīdā=H. shidha (S. shiddh), undressed grain with fuel for cooking, i. e., supplies. 2. Satri=Chhatia;
warana=cooked vegetables, cf. Marāṭhi Sāran, spices used for stuffing. 3. Hui=soyi. 4. Aodānū,
pregnant. 5. Dhūmiā=stem, dry stalk. 6. Kasi=fresh. 7. Ghani=oil-mill.

Hajū helye mare se-Re.
Hoye rajaliyā baluḍa-Re.
Baṇi gyā Khetliyā kunwar-Re.
Devatā wāhūle badhe se-Re.
Maḍi bhogne bhalā alo ne-Re.

Alyā kūkḍa ne bokḍa-Re.
Alyā korātūn khisḍa-Re.
Alyā narelū sūrma-Re.
Alyo bare bhātī no haro 1.-Re.
Beṭā khājo ne mojan marjo-Re.
Kātjo duniyā kera dukho-Re.
Dukhū bhāgi bhūkū kar jo-Re Dehariyā.

Saju rubbed (her womb)-Re.
A princely boy was born-Re.
He was called prince Khetlia-Re.
The god-like child grew-Re.
(One day he said) "Mother, make a good offering for me"-Re.
She brought a cock and a goat-Re.
Brought also fresh Kichdi-Re.
Brought cocoanuts and Surma-Re.
Brought liquor from twelve stills-Re.
Prayed "Oh son, rejoice and be happy"-Re.
Destroy the evils of the world-Re.
Drive away (these) and pain and hunger-Re Dehariyā.

NO. IV.—THE SONG OF BHURYA BHIL.

The interest in this song lies in the fact of the Bhil placing the *tīla* mark on the chief's forehead. This is, of course, a well-known practice in many places in which Rājput clans have ousted the allodial proprietors. The Jhābua State is situated in the south-west of the Central India Agency. The ruling family is Rāthor, an offshoot of the Jodhpur house. The fort of Pāwāngarh is in Gujarat.

Bhuryo Pāwā—no parthi ² . gawure suwanen aj.	Bhuryo,—I sing now of Bhurya, lord of Pāwāngarh district.
Bhuryo-Pāvāno gadhshī nikalyore mane wār-owār.	Bhuryo-(Once) he started out from Pāwāngarh fort in haste.
Bhuryo-Ayo kāne āyore Gamāni pāl. ³	Bhuryo-He came travelling to the pāl of Gama.
Bhuryo-Barā ne pādā ⁴ . tapere mukhyo nā aj.	Bhuryo-There he became the lord over twelve Bhil villages.
Bhuryo-Rājā Bhīmānī ⁵ . wahere Jhabūwe re gāmū.	Bhuryo-Bhīmānī was then ruler of Jhābua,
Bhuryo-Majre ⁶ . kāne teḍese Bhīmānī aj.	Bhuryo-A messenger Bhimani sent (to Bhuryo saying) come and pay respects (to me).
Bhuryo-Majre kāne jāwere mare wārowār.	Bhuryo-Went at once to pay his respects.
Bhuryo-Aṅgli ne bādī tilūao mane kāḍe aj.	Bhuryo-"Cutting your finger (said the king) make the <i>tilak</i> (with blood) on me forthwith.
Bhuryo-Ne rājā kāne āli re Rājā ne aj.	Bhuryo-So the Rājā gave him leave to rule.
Bhuryo-Khaṇi ⁷ . ne khodi khūjo re Dewad no māl.	Bhuryo-"Plunder (said the king) to your heart's content, enjoy the wealth of Dohad."
Bhuryo-Kuṭi ⁸ . ne lūṭi khāḍore Dewada ⁹ . no māl.	Bhuryo-Beat, plundered, and took possession of the wealth of Dohad.
Bhuryo-Luṭi kuti Bhuryo ne pāchhā aj.	Bhuryo-having looted and slain them Bhuryo came back.
Bhuryo-Awā kāne ayo ne Gāmāniyā pāl.	Bhuryo-So came to the pāl of Gama.
Bhuryo-Lugaḍe ¹⁰ . ne dārū māngaḍe Bhuryo to aj.	Bhuryo-Then did Bhuryo order jars full of liquor.

1. Haro=liquor. 2. Parthi : lord (H. pāṛthivī). 3. Pāl : the pāl are certain local areas generally in possession of a section of the tribe. 4. Pādā ; Bhil settlements are called "Bhil pādās," *e. i.*, Bhil quarters. 5. Bhīmānī Singh was the father of Kesho Dās who founded the present Jhābua State in 1584. Though never really ruler of Jhābua, he held the Badnāwar district (now in Dhār State) in fief; Wahere=wase-re. 6. Majre: salutation (Pers : *mujra*). 7. Khaṇi: lit. dig up (S. khan). 8. Kuṭi : to pound, drub (S. kuttan). 9. Dohad town in Bombay Presidency. 10. Lugaḍa: lit. the frame of wood for carrying jars, etc., on donkeys. Here used for the jars themselves.

APPENDIX A.

A list of Bhil Septs with explanations of their origin where known.

Number.	Name of sept.	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
1	Kanbī.	The story goes that in former days one of their ancestors was given the nickname of Kanbī by the bride's female relatives (<i>wiwahān</i>) for climbing into a Kantī or Kalam tree (<i>Stephegyne parvifolia</i>) during the marriage ceremony.	They worship the Kalam tree and never cut it down.
2	Kātija.	Takes its name from the dagger.	At the commencement of the <i>bāna</i> ceremony a dagger is worshipped and is held by the bridegroom throughout the marriage.
3	Barberia.	Named after the Barbet (<i>Dalbergia Lanceolaria</i>) tree.	
4	Katāra.	Also named after the dagger.	
5	Dāngi.	Called after the <i>dāng</i> or <i>lāthi</i> often carried as a weapon of defence.	Bamboos are worshipped in marriage ceremonies and are never cut by them.
6	Kanāsia.	No explanation.	
7	Kalāra.	Called after the <i>pān</i> leaf.	
8	Kishori.	Named after the Kishori (<i>Butea frondosa</i>). They are an offshoot of the Balwai Sept.	Worship it at marriages. They never place its leaves on their heads.
9	Kikria.	Called after the creeper of this name (?) of which the root is eaten.	
10	Kirādia.	No explanation.	
11	Kodia.	Originally were of the Bhūria Sept. This offshoot is called after the <i>courie</i> shell.	No female of this sept wears <i>couries</i> .
12	Bhūria.	The "Brown" sept said to have obtained the name from an ancestor who went about covered with ashes. The proverb below relating to this clan, taken together with the story of the ashes seems to point to a <i>sādhu</i> ancestor. The proverb runs:— <i>Bhuria bhatak, tumdi chatak, tumdi meni hānp nikalyo, Bhurria, keve, mhāro bāp nikalyo.</i> Bhuria wanders a gourd (<i>kamandalu</i>) split and out came a snake, Bhuria cried "My father came out thence."	The brown gourd of which the <i>tumdi</i> is made is never eaten by them; nor is any ashy coloured snake killed by them, both being objects of worship.
13	Chawān.	Pseudo Rājput origin from Chauhān.	
14	Kohwād.	No explanation.	
15	Kochria.	This sept does not belong to the Jhābua Bhils, but is met with sometimes.	

Number.	Name of sept.	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
16	Kharādi.	.....	They never eat the fish called Dhoka.
17	Khādia.	Called after the reed <i>khadi</i> .	
18	Khapedia.	No explanation.	
19	Khadedia.	A corruption apparently of <i>Gadaria</i>	
20	Chārel.	The story asserts descent from a <i>Chāran</i> .	
21	Bilwāl.	Called after the <i>Bel</i> (<i>Ægle marmelos</i>).	They worship the <i>Bel</i> tree and use its leaves to predict the future at marriages. Four leaves are placed on little heaps in four separate spots. On them some grains of rice are strewn and they are worshipped. An old man then watches the leaves and by their movements predicts good or ill fortune to the newly married couple.
22	Khokar.	Named after a broken earthen vessel. No intelligible reason is given for the name but 'Khokar' is the usual term applied to a broken <i>ghara</i>	
23	Khota.	Not a local sept though members of it come to Jhābua.	
24	Ganāwa.	Called after the <i>Ganiar</i> tree (<i>Cochlospermum gossypium</i>).	The tree is an object of worship at marriages and is never cut.
25	Gamār.	A tale is told of an ancestor who was called <i>ganwār</i> or fool because he lost his oxen and was obliged to drag the <i>pathār</i> over his fields himself.	The sept worship a log or trunk of a tree.
26	Garwāl.	Named after the lizard so called <i>Garwāl</i> , <i>Gharwāl</i> or <i>Gharoli</i> .	An effigy in flour of the lizard is worshipped at marriages and the real animal is never injured.
27	Ganād.	Called after a village.	
28	Ginwāl.	Not local, but members are met with.	
29	Gundia.	Called after the <i>Gundi</i> tree (<i>Cordia</i>).	
30	Nināma.	Called after a <i>razai</i> or quilt so named, apparently, but explanation is not clear.	
31	Bhūsa.	Not local sept.	
32	Gelot.	Pseudo Rājput, Gahlot.	
33	Rāwat.	The story runs that an ancestor was beaten by his female relations with a churning staff (<i>rawai</i>) when he was rescued by his bitch.	A bitch is worshipped at marriages.

Number.	Name of sept.	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
34	Silot (or Helot).	Called after Sela (or Hela) thread used in making rope.	
35	Goyal.	Called after the "Goya" a place where the cattle are herded outside a village before going to graze.	
36	Gohari.	Not a local sept but occasionally met with.	
37	Narwāyā.	Ditto	
38	Pārgi.	The hunting section (<i>Pārgi-Pār-dī</i>). The crab is their special object of worship, an ancestor, the story goes, being miraculously saved by this animal. He was taking home some meat when he was accosted by an official. The Bhil who had stolen the meat was at the time resting by a stream. He said he had only crabs in his wallet. The official insisted on looking, and to the Bhil's surprise his wallet was full of crabs. So the legend runs.	This sept worship the land crab (<i>kekdi</i>) at marriages. Some rice unbroken and white grain is put before a crab. If it seizes a whole grain good luck will attend the couple. If it takes a broken grain or has an injured limb bad luck will follow.
39	Nisarta.	An offshoot of No. 38.	Also worship crabs (or an effigy of a crab made in flour at marriages.
40	Meda.	An offshoot of No. 38. Called after the <i>Meda</i> tree.	Also worship the crab. The bride takes a crab home on the completion of the ceremony wrapping it up in her <i>luga</i> . Crabs are never killed.
41	Chanāo.	Not a local sept.	
42	Charpota.	Called after the Charpoti (?)	
43	Amliār.	Called after the poppy (<i>amal</i>).	
44	Rāthor.	Pseudo Rājput.	Worship the <i>Pīpal</i> tree (<i>Ficus religiosa</i>).
45	Chamka.	An impossibly fanciful tale is told of a party of this sept coming from Baria near Dohad to a marriage. At the Khān river they were startled (<i>chamak</i>) by a large flock of <i>laoda</i> birds who rose suddenly on their approach. Their surprise was witnessed by the others and hence they obtained this name.	They worship the <i>Sehati</i> (an animal ?).
46	Parmār.	(Pseudo Rājput I expect.) The legend connects the name with the goad (<i>parāna</i>).	Worship the <i>parāna</i> or goad of which a drawing is made on a wall in turmeric at marriages.
47	Pachāya.	Said to be connected with <i>panchāyat</i> . Not properly explained.	

Number.	Name of sept.	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
48	Hatila.	No explanation	
49	Chaodia.	Legend attributes descent from a Rājput of the <i>chaoda</i> clan.	
50	Chudādia.	Called after lac bangles (<i>chuda</i>).	Lac bangles are worshipped at marriages and no females of this sept ever wear them.
51	Changod.	Called after a bull's horn.	A bull's horn is worshipped at marriages, the sept never cut the horns of cattle.
52	Chhaiya.	Not local.	
53	Jharnia.	Ditto.	
54	Tokria.	Claim descent from a Bhilāla of Kathiawāra estate near Ali-Rājpur who settled at Tokria-jiran village of Ali-Rājpur.	
55	Masānia.	An offshoot of No. 54. The legend runs: they, an ancestor being hard put to it, used fire from a <i>masān</i> to cook with.	Worship bamboos at marriages and never cut them down.
56	Dābi.	Not explained, said to be connected with <i>dāwa</i> , i.e., the left hand	
57	Dodigar.	Called after the heads of maize known as Doda (?)	
58	Machhār.	Called after mosquitos.	This sept never injures goats of a white colour.
59	Dāmar ¹ .	No explanation.	
60	Bāmnia.	Corruption of Brāhman, due apparently to a claim of Brāhman descent	Worship the <i>kari</i> tree (?) at marriages.
61	Dīndod.	Called after the water-snake known as <i>dindu</i> (?).	Worship and never injure the <i>dindu</i> .
62	Tād.	Called after the <i>tādi</i> palm tree	
63	Arad.	Called after the grass known as <i>arad</i> or <i>kasai</i> .	
64	Tadela.	Not local.	
65	Daima.	Said to be called after the <i>dans</i> an insect.	Never kill the insect known as <i>dans</i> (?).
66	Bāria.	No explanation.	
67	Deoda.	Ditto.	
68	Māoda.	Offshoot of No. 67. No proper explanation.	They worship the earthenware dish called a <i>Taodi</i> ; and if one breaks carefully collect the pieces and bury them.
69	Singād.	Called after horns.	Worship a bull's horn at marriages and never cut the horns of cattle.
70	Paggi.	No explanation.	
71	Panadā.	Said to be named after a fire in which part of the sept was once burned (<i>Panaja</i>)	
72	Palasia.	(Called after the <i>Palasia</i> or <i>Pal-hadi</i> tree (<i>Butea frondosa</i>))	Never cut the tree and worship it at marriages.

1. See Songs for the migration of this sept.

(95)

Number.	Name of sept.	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
73	Paredia. }	Not local. Called after "pieces of bread" or <i>bhagra</i> (<i>tukra</i>).	On the completion of the wedding, broken up bread is distributed to all
74	Barjor. }		
75	Wagdia. }		
76	Budad. }		
77	Bhagara		
78	Bhateria. }	Not local. A legend says the ancestors of this sept once feasted on an ass, but when taxed with it said it was a <i>Roz</i> (<i>nilgai</i>). A proverb runs:— <i>Bhābra būj khāya gaddhane māne rojh.</i> The <i>Bhābras</i> roasted and ate an ass and considered it a <i>nilgai</i> .	The sept never kill either ass or <i>nilgai</i> .
79	Bhardia. }		
80	Bhābar.		
81	Rāna. }	Not local. Called after the spider (<i>makwa</i>)	An effigy in flour is made of a spider and worshipped at weddings. Members of this sept are credited with the power of healing the irritation made by certain spiders, by simply touching the spout. At marriage an effigy of a peacock is worshipped. This bird is never molested by the sept.
82	Bhedi. }		
83	Makwāna.		
84	Mori.	Called after the peacock (<i>mor</i>).	
85	Makhodia.	Apparently called after a torch (<i>makhodia</i>) but origin is not traceable.	
86	Māl.	No explanation.	They worship on the first day of the <i>Bāna</i> ceremony a <i>muni</i> tree. They never cut it. Worship the <i>moini</i> tree at marriages and preserve it.
87	Māwi.	Ditto.	
88	Māliwād.	Called after the jungle (<i>māl</i>)	
		No origin given.	
89	Mohania.	Not explained, but I fancy it is connected with the tree mentioned in column 4.	
90	Munia.	Called after the <i>Munj</i> or <i>Moini</i> tree (<i>Odina Wodier</i>).	
91	Lakhma.	Offshoot of 90. No explanation forthcoming. A legend refers to the care (<i>lakhan</i>) used by an ancestor in his work, as the origin.	
92	Wasunia.	No explanation.	
93	Maida.	Called, it is said, after curds (<i>mahi</i>).	
94	Jhodia.	No explanation. Is an offshoot of No. 93.	

Number.	Name of sept	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special object.
95	Mena.	Called after <i>Mena Kodra</i> a form of <i>Kodon</i> (<i>Paspalum stoloniferum</i>) which is said to cause a form of intoxication (<i>Mena</i>) when largely eaten.	<i>Kodon</i> is never eaten now by the sept, but balls made of it are worshipped at marriages.
96	Mandor.	Not explained.	
97	Arjaona.	No explanation.	Do not kill goat themselves but will eat its flesh.
98	Osāri.	Apparently named after the <i>Osāri</i> (Wasāri) or verandah of a house, but is fanciful and not obvious	
99	Batedia.	Not a local sept.	
100	Rāwal.	Not given.	
101	Wadkhia.	Ditto.	
102	Suwaar.	Called after the wild boar.	Never kill and eat pig and worship an effigy of this animal in flour at weddings.
103	Wania.	Descended from a Bania (<i>wania</i>) of Rambhāpur who had a Bhil mistress.	
104	Wākhla.	Called after the "flyingfox" (<i>Pteropus medius</i>).	This bat is never molested by the sept.
105	Bāhaiya.	Not local.	
106	Bāgol.		
107	Sastria.		
108	Surtania.		
109	Solanki.		
110	Sapnia.	Pseudo Rājput.	
111	Solia.	Called after a snake. Also claim Solanki descent as 109.	
112	Māoda.	Not local septs.	
113	Uāhāwā.		
114	Kāmlia.		
115	Kāndor.	Not explained clearly but seems connected with blanket-making.	
		Not explained.	
116	Waderi.	Said to be from <i>waderi</i> , a brawl, their ancestor being killed in one.	They worship the sword.
117	Navi.	Barbers.	
118	Kalāwa.	No explanation.	
119	Hāda.	Said to be connected with <i>handi</i> , a vessel, but looks like Pseudo Rājput.	Worship a newly made <i>handi</i> at weddings.
120	Dholi.	Originally Katāras, but became drum players.	
121	Gādrā.	Not explained.	

(97)

Number.	Name of sept.	Story as to origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
122	Jhāla.	Looks like Pseudo Rājput but is said to be connected with the cultivation of grain in soil made by burning down trees. This cultivation is called <i>Walri</i> .	<i>Walri</i> grain is never sown by the sept, and they say no member of this sept can eat it without suffering. As proof the case of one Mānji Dāmar of Bihār village in Jhābua was quoted. He suffered after eating from a swelled body and was only cured after 7 days' worship of his goddess with <i>Walri</i> grain offerings.

APPENDIX. B

The impossibility of getting any finality in answers to the question of septs is shewn by the Bhilāla and Bhil sept names given in these lists.

Lists Nos. I and III were made out by Nārāyan Rao Bhikāji, formerly Diwān of Jhābua, who also made out the list in the text. He admits the great variety of answers always received on this point.

Lists Nos. II and IV were taken down by Pandit Wāman Rao, Diwān of Ali-Rājpur.

BHILALAS :—

No. I.

Badī Jāt:—

1 Awadya	16 Kirādyā
2 Baidya	17 Masānya
3 Bāmnya	18 Māli
4 Bandochh	19 Mujalas
5 Bhābar	20 Morya
6 Bharda	21 Nigwāl
7 Chamda	22 Rāwat
8 Chungad	23 Rāthada
9 Chuwān	24 Sastyā
10 Dāwar	25 Sapnya
11 Dodwār	26 Somsadya
12 Gadrya	27 Solya
13 Jamra	28 Waskala, (Chokari)
14 Kachachya	29 Waskala
15 Kawāsyā	

No. II

Badī:—

1 Jamra	} These four are held superior and called Chokhari
2 Rāwat	
3 Tadwāla	
4 Waskala	

These are the most superior septs distinguished by abstention from liquor, and the flesh of fowls.

There is not yet apparently any hypergamy among them, and the whole of the *Badī* and *Chhoti* groups form a single endogamous tribal unit.

5 Ajnaria	10 Bahawia
6 Akhadia	11 Bāmnia
7 Arjania	12 Bhābria
8 Awasia	13 Bhayadia
9 Awaya	14 Baria

15 Bundod	31 Masānia
16 Chomkia	32 Mujalda
17 Chongad	33 Mori
18 Chuhān	34 Nigwal
19 Dāwar	35 Ohria
20 Deodia	36 Parihār
21 Dharwar	37 Parmār
22 Dodwa	38 Sāmliā
23 Gādrīā	39 Saolia
24 Ghutria	40 Solia
25 Jāmar	41 Sastia
26 Kalbela	42 Sayala
27 Kanasia	43 Tadwāla
28 Kaocha	44 Todria
29 Kirodia	45 Waglia
30 Lohāria	46 Waskala

Chhoti :—

1 Achalia	20 Dharwar
2 Aheria	21 Dodwa
3 Ajnāria	22 Girāsia
4 Awaya	23 Jamra
5 Bābria	24 Jhaktia
6 Bahaya	25 Joktia
7 Bahukia	26 Kanasia
8 Bāmnia	27 Kaocha
9 Bāria	28 Katharīā
10 Bedia	29 Katolia
11 Bhādliā	30 Kharat
12 Bhardia	31 Khewa
13 Bundod	32 Kirada
14 Butia	33 Loharia
15 Chatissia	34 Mangrola
16 Chandri	35 Mela
17 Chomalka	36 Mujalda
18 Chongad	37 Nania
19 Dāwar	38 Nargwa

39 Nawaka	43 Raotala	47 Semlia	51 Thakrata
40 Ningwal	44 Salia	48 Silotia	52 Waskala
41 Parmār	45 Saniwara	49 Tadwāla	53 Wiskia
42 Patelia	46 Sastia	50 Takria	

BHILS :—

No. III.

1 Ajnarya	40 Kalsa
2 Amryāla	41 Kanasya
3 Arāda	42 Kalara
4 Ausari	43 Kanvi
5 Bābera	44 Kadera
6 Bamgia	45 Katija
7 Bāmnia	46 Kirādia
8 Barjod	47 Kisia
9 Bārya	48 Kisori
10 Bhagora	49 Kochria
11 Bharda	50 Kohāwad
12 Bhakhara	51 Kuthara
13 Bhetra	52 Khadia
14 Bhedi	53 Khapedya
15 Bhūra	54 Kharāda
16 Bhūsa	55 Khedria
17 Bilwal	56 Khokhar
18 Chamka	57 Khota
19 Changada	58 Lakhma
20 Charela	59 Machhar
21 Charpota	60 Makwāna
22 Chāwada	61 Majeda
23 Chhaiwa	62 Mandāre
24 Chudila	63 Mal
25 Chuhān	64 Masāna
26 Dāmar	65 Makhad
27 Dāngi	66 Maliwad
28 Daveda	67 Mawda
29 Dāwar	68 Mawi
30 Dāwma	69 Medya
31 Gāmad	70 Mena
32 Ganawa	71 Mohania
33 Garwāl	72 Mori
34 Gāwar	73 Narwa
35 Gelot	74 Nināma
36 Gozal	75 Nisarta
37 Gundra	76 Pachaya
38 Guwa	77 Pagi
39 Jhasia	78 Palāsa

79 Panāda	92 Solandi
80 Pargi	93 Solia
81 Parmār	94 Suwar
82 Parder	95 Tad
83 Ratedya	96 Tadelā
84 Rāthor	97 Tokra
85 Rāwat	98 Wāgola
86 Rāwal	99 Wādkhya
87 Ramna	100 Wākhla
88 Rupna	101 Wahaya
89 Rusta	102 Waniya
90 Sigad	103 Waskala
91 Silot	104 Wasūnia

No. IV.

Badi :—

1 Ajnaria
2 Ajraonia
3 Bābria
4 Bāmnia
5 Bārādia
6 Bāria
7 Bhābria
8 Bhāyadia
9 Bhuria
10 Bilwal
11 Budd
12 Chuhān
13 Dāngi
14 Daoria
15 Dasnia
16 Deoradia
17 Dhānak
18 Dhedia
19 Dodwa
20 Gamia
21 Gamwa
22 Guthria
23 Jamra
24 Kadāria
25 Kadasia

N.B.—No other lists ever make a *Badi* and *Chhoti Jāt* and I fancy some mistake occurred in collecting these. If they do exist it must be a purely local distinction.

26 Kaocha
27 Kharāda
28 Kikria
29 Kirādia
30 Lakhama
31 Makdia
32 Makodia
33 Maoda
34 Masānia
35 Mawi
36 Minawa
37 Mohnia
38 Mori
39 Pachhaya
40 Paranda
41 Parmār
42 Piplia
43 Retla
44 Saplia

45 Saknia	49 Singāda
46 Saslia	50 Waskala
47 Sidmia	51 Wasūnia
48 Setia	

Chhoti:—

1 Awaya	5 Dodwa
2 Bāmnia	6 Kanasia
3 Budod	7 Kaocha
4 Chongad	8 Mehdā

LOCAL GROUPS.

BARWANI BHILS :—

- 1 Ghāt-Berai—Offer flour to their tutelary deity called ghāt.
- 2 Gondlai—Worship Gondlai tree.
- 3 Monla—As No. 1.
- 4 Mujalda.
- 5 Mori—As No. 1.
- 6 Nergai } Worship the Nandgur tree.
- 7 Nigwal }
- 8 Kohtifor—At marriage cut the figure of a man made on flour.
- 9 Jāmun—Worship *jāmun* tree.
- 10 Sune—At marriage offer a cloth placed on a shield, to their tutelary deity.
- 11 Serolia—Worship the Serolia tree.
- 12 Solia.

(i) Tar-solia—Count skeins of thread at marriages.

(ii) Lāl-solia—Wear red clothes at marriages.

(iii) Jhatta-solia—Brief marriage ceremony.

(iv) Patha-solia.

(v) Gunga-solia—Are silent at marriage.

(vi) Kuta-solia—At marriage worship wheaten image of a dog.

Others add three more.

13 Bodur—Worship Bodur tree.

14 Pati-Majalda.

15 Susudi—Worship Susudi tree.

MANPUR BHILS :—

1 Baktia	8 Dussaha
2 Barrakia	9 Girwal
3 Bhānbur	10 Kimari
4 Bhuria	11 Kutara
5 Buratai	12 Mulwānia
6 Darji	13 Nināma
7 Darwar	14 Oosāri

15 Parmār	17 Wākliā
16 Sirjhar	18 Wasūni

They claim Rājput descent, their ancestors being Rājputs who were at the Māndu court but married with local women.

Of these Bhānbur and Danwar are considered superior.

MANKARS :—

(A class of Bhil famous as trackers, now a separate group.)

<i>Badi Awaya.</i>	9 Nigwal
1 Bāmnia	10 Jamra
2 Chodari	11 Kirādia
3 Chongad	12 Sastia
4 Chuhān	13 Waskala
5 Dāwar	<i>Chhoti.</i>
6 Lakhmānia	1 Budod
7 Mori	2 Mujalda
8 Naodia	3 Saliad

PATLIAS :—

(a) List by Nārāyan Rao Bhikāji.

1 Bāmnia	16 Oohri
2 Baria	17 Hathila
3 Behra	18 Hisor
4 Bhākar	19 Khaderia
5 Bhuria	20 Kathāria
6 Chopda	21 Narwaya
7 Chuhān	22 Pachaya
8 Dadewa	23 Pāl
9 Dāmar	24 Parmār
10 Dewal	25 Rathade
11 Dhāngade	26 Roja
12 Dhānk	27 Solandi
13 Dholi	28 Sordya
14 Dhuanda	29 Zadpe
15 Gelot	30 Zarna

(b) List by Wāman Rao.

1 Bāmnia	4 Bhābar
2 Baria	5 Bhuria
3 Behra	6 Chowar

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7 Chuhān	12 Hisor	17 Rāthor	22 Wāgul
8 Dakia	13 Khaderia	18 Rathwa	23 Zana
9 Dangi	14 Mori	19 Roja	
10 Gawar	15 Narwāya	20 Solanki	
11 Hathila	16 Parmār	21 Supda	

LOCAL SECTION OF BHILS IN THE RAMPURA BHANPURA ZILAS OF INDORE STATE.

These Bhils are split into *Ujale* or pure and *Mele* or impure with a third of lower status the Madalye who are musicians and singers by profession. The *Ujale* and *Mele* Bhils are apparently separate endogamous groups with septs which are exogamous.

Ujale :—

1 Badera	8 Khātki
2 Chirwān	9 Kher (after the tree)
3 Dāyama	10 Meda
4 Ganava	11 Phulya
5 Hongara	12 Punwār
6 Katāra	13 Renkwāl
7 Khadedā	

Mele :—

1 Chita (leopard)	
2 Hāmar	} (animals)
3 Khadedā	
4 Kapāriya (tree)	
5 Katara	
6 Kher (tree)	
7 Phatya (tree)	
8 Munya (tree)	
9 Tād (tree)	

The story goes that they came from Mewār, and one section fell in status from eating a cow¹ found in a jungle fire. They claim descent from the Sesodia family of Udaipur through a Gūjar woman.

Their headquarters are said to be Balawada-Badawada in Jhālāwār State.

The chief of the Khadedā sept is looked on as headman of the group.

1. Same legend as that under Minas.

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